WINNER OF THE NATIONAL BOOK AWARD

IBRAM X. KENDI

author of the *New York Times* bestseller *Stamped from the Beginning*

CHAIN OF IDEAS

THE ORIGINS OF OUR AUTHORITARIAN AGE

BY IBRAM X. KENDI

The Black Campus Movement: A History of Black Student Activism

Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America

How to Be an Antiracist

Be Antiracist: A Journal for Awareness, Reflection, and Action

Four Hundred Souls: A Community History of African America, 1619–2019 **(co-editor)**

How to Raise an Antiracist

Chain of Ideas

IBRAM X. KENDI

CHAIN OF IDEAS

THE ORIGINS OF OUR AUTHORITARIAN AGE

ONE WORLD

NEW YORK

One World
An imprint of Random House
A division of Penguin Random House LLC
1745 Broadway, New York, NY 10019
oneworldlit.com
penguinrandomhouse.com

Copyright © 2026 by Ibram X. Kendi

Penguin Random House values and supports copyright. Copyright fuels creativity, encourages diverse voices, promotes free speech, and creates a vibrant culture. Thank you for buying an authorized edition of this book and for complying with copyright laws by not reproducing, scanning, or distributing any part of it in any form without permission. You are supporting writers and allowing Penguin Random House to continue to publish books for every reader. Please note that no part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner for the purpose of training artificial intelligence technologies or systems.

ONE WORLD and colophon are registered trademarks of Penguin Random House LLC.

Hardcover ISBN 9780593978023

Ebook ISBN 9780593978030

BOOK TEAM: Production editor: Loren Noveck • Managing editor: Rebecca Berlant • Production manager: Richard Elman • Proofreaders: Ethan Campbell, Nancy Elgin, Allison Merrill, Zora O'Neill, and Tess Rossi • Indexer: Gina Guilinger

Cover design: Janet Hansen

The authorized representative in the EU for product safety and compliance is Penguin Random House Ireland, Morrison Chambers, 32 Nassau Street, Dublin D02 YH68, Ireland. https://eu-contact.penguin.ie

ep_prh_7.3a_155405622_c0_r0

Contents

A Note on Sources
Prologue

Link 1. White people lose out as peoples of color gain

1: Collaborators
2: Birther
3: Orchestrated Distancing
4: 2011
5: Oslo
6: Declaration of Independence
7: Great Recession
8: Who Is France?
9: Lost Cause
10: Long Shadow

Link 2. Racial inequity data should be ignored

11: Know Nothings
12: Replace the Electorate
13: Cable "News"
14: Buffalo
15: Nothing Known

16: One of Them
17: Electoral Dictator
18: Who Is Freer?
19: A Setup
20: Political Crisis
21: Christian Land?
22: Civilizing Duty

Link 3. Racism is biological prejudice and interpersonal discrimination

23: Debate
24: Neo-Nazi Boomers
25: Race War
26: "Not Racist"
27: Definitions
28: Michael Kast
29: Augusto Pinochet
30: Terror
31: Authoritarian Thinking
32: Only Our Prayers
33: Racism Is Suicidal
34: Tea Together
35: Destroy Our Country
36: Two Dads

Link 4. Racism against peoples of color is over

37: GB News
38: Proximity Denial

39: Mania
40: Eurosceptic
41: Bruges
42: Enoch Powell
43: "Stop the Boats"
44: Middle Management
45: Brexit
46: Britain First
47: Reform UK

Link 5. Anti-White racism is on the rise

48: Surprise
49: Indonesia
50: Seems Incredible
51: Inversion of Antiracism
52: Misdefining
53: Fourteen Words
54: Answer to ACLU
55: Winds of Change
56: Dutch First
57: Christchurch
58: A Forecast
59: Rising Tide of Color

Link 6. White Christians are indigenous to the nation

60: Wolf in Shepherd's Clothing
61: Speak for All

62: Burning
63: Cult of Innocence
64: Day of Potsdam
65: New Knights Templar
66: Düsseldorf Forum
67: Compatibility List
68: Purebred
69: Identitarian
70: CPAC
71: Go Back
72: Madagascar
73: Not a Secret

Link 7. Fight for freedom as patriots, like the nation's founders

74: Free to Die
75: Patriots
76: People's Party
77: Occupation
78: Anti-Vaccine Parties
79: Political Suicide
80: Freedom Convoy
81: Heard
82: Tea Party
83: A Swastika
84: Quebec City
85: Vaccine Discrimination?
86: Emergencies Act

Link 8. Stand in the legacy of antislavery, anticolonialism, civil rights activism, and antifascism

87: Roma
88: Benito Mussolini
89: Italian Social Movement
90: Fascist-Antifascist
91: Resistance
92: Great Replacement of History
93: White Man's Party
94: Modern KKK
95: Liberal Democracy
96: Antifa
97: Custodians of Fascism
98: Scientism
99: Basic Math
100: Eating Cats
101: Present Divisions

Link 9. Insurrections against democracy protect the nation

102: Shithole
103: Old Ideas
104: Firehose of Disinformation
105: Customers
106: Cinematographer
107: Constitutional Disorder
108: Blood on His Hands
109: Fight Like Hell

110: Brazil Last
111: Stay Peaceful
112: Martial Law
113: Great Again
114: Real Traitors
115: Political Speech
116: X
117: Pulverized

Link 10. Fight for privileges provided by dictators instead of power provided by democracy

118: State of the Federation
119: Crimea
120: Privilege Over Power
121: Siege
122: Sanction Inflation
123: Patriots for Europe
124: Pretty Savvy
125: Genocide
126: Our Tasks
127: Human Animals
128: Middle of an Ocean
129: Imminent Plans
130: Strong Leader
131: Servitude

Epilogue
Acknowledgments

Take Action
Notes
Index

To humanity, to what links us

A Note on Sources

A substantial collection of sources in multiple languages on the politics of nearly one hundred countries forms the foundation of *Chain of Ideas*. The notes section, with all my keyphrases and sources, initially totaled more than six hundred pages—longer than the body of the book. Its enormity created a bind. Inserting the full notes in this book would double its size, increasing the cost to readers and the environment. I dropped that option. I considered trimming down the notes section. But that would disallow readers the opportunity to glean the years of deep research that underlie this book—and the additional information in the notes. When I discarded that option, only one seemed viable: put the entire notes section online.

I balked at this. As an old-school scholar and a reader, I want notes printed in books, as they've always been in my books. But I came around. What hooked me? The online option allows readers to take out a device and more easily access the sources as they read. Which is why I'm sharing this now, at the beginning of *Chain of Ideas,* as opposed to at the end. I provide sources for the quotes, concepts, storytelling, studies, surveys, statistics, investigative reporting, and more than one hundred political parties mentioned in this book. When possible, I provide direct links to the sources. With many of these sources in different languages, instant translations and transcriptions are available online for use.

Access the full notes section online at:

chainofideasbook.com/notes

Prologue

A novelist visited southern France during one of the final years of the twentieth century. He arrived in Hérault, to be exact. Long ago, this coastal area enchanted the second U.S. minister to France, Thomas Jefferson. Mountains in the north. Beaches in the south. Vineyards and villages in between.

The novelist saw something wholly unexpected in Hérault in 1996. What he saw troubled him to his very core. He foresaw a state of emergency, a crisis of epic proportions, based on an old conspiracy theory that, after every generation, turned out to be pure fiction. An old theory without a name. He named it.

—

The novelist was born on August 10, 1946, fifty-seven days after the birth of one Donald J. Trump. Renaud Camus (pronounced "ka-moo") studied French literature at university. He protested in Paris in 1968. He trailblazed literary space for gay novelists and poets, most famously in his autobiographical novel *Tricks* (1979). He supported France's Socialist Party, until he did not. He won the Académie Française's Amic Prize, a French literary award.

In 1996, Camus had been restoring a fourteenth-century castle in Plieux when the government commissioned him to compose a travel book about Hérault in France's Languedoc-Roussillon region. Travelers have long been attracted to Hérault's relaxing way of life, cheaper lodging, Mediterranean climate, and brief, mild winters. By

the end of the twentieth century, Hérault had become the Florida of France, with nearly a quarter of its population of retirement age. Its population had nearly doubled since the 1960s, making it one of the fastest-growing areas in France, due primarily to this domestic migration.

Immigration contributed to Hérault's population growth. White European immigrants came to the region from Spain, Portugal, the United Kingdom, Italy, Denmark, Ireland, and the Netherlands—and retired there. Immigrants came, too, from North Africa, namely Algeria, Tunisia, and especially Morocco. But these Brown and Black immigrants were usually segregated into dilapidated apartments in the region's oldest housing stock.

When Camus took notes for his travel book in 1996, nearly half of all immigrants in Hérault were from Europe and about 40 percent were from Africa. These African immigrants were still relatively rare in Hérault, no more than 4 percent of the total population. And yet, these facts did not square with Camus's claims.

Camus ventured into one of "the old villages of Hérault, those large old round fortified villages, with narrow streets and houses leaning crookedly into one another, many of which already had a solid experience of the world by the year 1000." He claimed that he noticed people of North African descent "nearly exclusively at the windows and thresholds of these very old houses and the lengths of the old streets." Camus expressed that he got the "impression of having changed worlds without having left the old one." It seemed as if "during our lifetime, and even less, France was in the process of changing people: we see one, we take a nap, then there is another, or many others."

At the time, Muslims of Algerian descent in Hérault had been living in France longer than Camus's lifetime. A 1954 census counted nearly 6,000 people of Algerian descent in the Languedoc-Roussillon region. Despite religious and phenotypic differences, people around the western Mediterranean Sea have been

interacting, trading, warring, migrating, and reproducing together for centuries. They have been sharing cultures and histories since at least the ancient Roman Empire, which encompassed what is now France and North Africa. Together, this diversity of peoples formed Mediterranean culture. Tourists can now dine on Mediterranean cuisine at restaurants in Southern Europe and North Africa. But Camus's tale in Hérault positioned people from North Africa as "entirely new to those parts, and who by their costume, their attitude, even by their language, seemed not to belong to it but to come from another people, another culture, another history."

To be racist is to see peoples of color as *eternal immigrants.* In 2019, President Trump told four congresswomen of color—three of whom were born in the United States—to "go back" to the "corrupt" and "crime-infested" countries they "originally came from." Trump's own paternal grandfather, Friedrich, originally came from Germany in 1885. He traveled back home in 1901 and met his wife, Elisabeth. They moved to the United States together in 1902 and returned to Germany in 1904. They came back to the U.S. for good in 1905—Elisabeth pregnant with Trump's father, Fred. Trump's mother, Mary Anne, immigrated from Scotland in 1930. Trump, a son of immigrants. To be racist is to see White people as *eternal natives.*

What other population could Camus have seen as new to Hérault in 1996, speaking another language, belonging to another culture, another history? White European immigrants. However, Camus melted the differences of these White European immigrants into the pot of White identity. He did not lament their presence in very old houses, walking down very old streets, speaking Spanish or Portuguese or Dutch or English.

Apparently, White immigrants do not signify that the country is changing. Apparently, Camus saw, in White people, those who belong in France—who France is *for.* Apparently, Camus saw, in Black and Brown peoples, those who do not belong in France—who

France is *not* for. In this division, Camus implicitly answered the political questions defining our authoritarian age:

Who is the nation *for*? Where do the borders of belonging begin and end?

—

"It is very strange for me to find myself at Lunel." Camus is speaking in this Hérault town on November 26, 2010. It happened to be "right here" in Lunel, he goes on, "about fifteen years ago, that the phenomenon first struck me."

Camus shares that peoples of North African heritage were overrunning Hérault when he visited in 1996. He shares this fiction and goes on to argue that *race* is "less a hypothetical community or biological parentage than a long-shared history, a culture." He says a nation of "many peoples," of "many religions, many cultures," is bound to be "a hellish society." Camus commends "our kings" for putting "all their care and sometimes their brutality into avoiding" the hell of diversity. The kings "knew by instinct that nothing would come from it but misfortune for individuals and weakness for the state."

Because "peoples that remain peoples cannot join other peoples," Camus argues. "They can only conquer them, overcome them, or replace them."

Camus speaks for more than two hours. He identifies himself to the French crowd in Hérault as a "candidate for president of the Republic."

Someone records this campaign speech. Camus publishes it as a book in 2011. The title: *Le Grand Remplacement,* translated as *The Great Replacement*—his name for this imagined "invasion, colonization, the changing of people."

—

When Thomas Jefferson visited southern France in 1787, he studied the Roman ruins. He delighted in seeing the Maison Carrée, an ancient Roman temple in Nîmes, a town due east of the land French revolutionaries would establish as Hérault in 1790. Jefferson described the Roman temple as "the most perfect and precious remain of antiquity." And he remembered those ancient Roman designs when he began constructing the University of Virginia in 1817. The centerpiece of the campus: the Rotunda, modeled after the Pantheon in ancient Rome.

Two centuries later, on the evening of August 11, 2017, hundreds of White men in khakis held tiki torches as they marched on UVA's lawn toward the Rotunda. They were marching against Charlottesville's plans to remove a statue of Robert E. Lee, the Confederate general who battled to maintain the enslavement of Black people during the U.S. Civil War.

They chanted, "One people, one nation, end immigration!"

They chanted, "White lives matter!"

They chanted, "Jews will not replace us!"

They chanted, "You will not replace us!"

The last chant echoes all the way to Camus's castle in southern France. He hears the title of his next book. In 2018, Camus releases *You Will Not Replace Us!,* a self-published work written in English.

In the book, Camus positions "the Great Replacement, ethnic substitution, the change of people and civilisation" as not only "an established fact" but "by far the biggest and most urgent problem Western countries have to face." He warns that "there can be no other way to solve this problem than remigration," by which he means the mass deportation of citizens and immigrants of color from majority-White countries. On June 15, 2025, Trump announced his administration's "very important goal of delivering the single largest Mass Deportation Program in History." German Nazis and their collaborators executed one of the single largest mass deportation programs in history when they forcibly remigrated

millions of European Jews to concentration camps outside of their home countries.

Demographic change has been a constant across much of the world for centuries. But great replacement theorists wildly exaggerate demographic changes involving migrants of color in order to present them as a mushrooming threat to White people. In *You Will Not Replace Us!* Camus presents immigrants as "invaders" who take and steal and destroy, when, in fact, migrants generally boost economic and cultural activity in the countries and neighborhoods they enter. Camus presents France as overrun with immigrants, when, actually, about 90 percent of French residents are *not* immigrants. Camus presents Europe as overloaded with immigrants from Africa and the Middle East, when about 91 percent of the European Union's population hails from the European Union. Camus presents the United States, with the world's largest foreign-born population, as overburdened with immigrants, when about 86 percent of U.S. residents are not immigrants. How could Camus still categorize the Great Replacement as "an established fact"? "So long as statistics demonstrate that there is no such thing as a Great Replacement," he writes, "it is not the Great Replacement which becomes laughing stock, it is statistics."

Camus creates "three protagonists" in *You Will Not Replace Us!*

The "*replacers,*" who are citizens and immigrants "mostly from Africa, and very often Muslims."

The "*replacees,*" the White "indigenous" population being replaced.

The "*replacists,*" elites "who want the change of people and civilization."

To Camus, "industrialists" and "High Finance" are the principal "replacists," intentionally engineering demographic change. Their aim: maintain "a cheap workforce" and "check the increases in wages demanded by native workers and unions," as well as import "by the millions" new "*consumers.*" These new consumers "have no

money but that is not a problem," Camus writes. The immigrants "will steal it from" White people and take their government benefits. Incidentally, Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels cast Jewish people as "the World Enemy" for their supposed total sway over "international high finance."

While framing this ruling class of "replacists" as excluding White workers from economic opportunity, Camus characterizes "the nature of Global Replacism" as striving to "*include* everything and everybody instead of *excluding* them, like all the previous ruling classes had done." He seems most incensed at people who are redistributing their immense wealth and philanthropically supporting organizations and leaders struggling for antiracist democracy. One philanthropist Camus names as playing "an essential part in Global Replacism" is George Soros, a Jewish American billionaire who survived the Nazi occupation of Hungary during World War II.

When Camus first imagined great replacement theory in Hérault on the eve of the twenty-first century, his conspiracy theory staggered around the fringes of global politics. But after the semi-retirement of the Communist boogeyman when the Cold War ended in 1991, after the terror attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, after reports surfaced of White populations losing their majority status in some countries, after anxiety spread over White birth rates and migrations of peoples of color, then Camus's fringe theory reached the borders of mainstream political thought. When he published *The Great Replacement* in 2011, politicians had already started using the theory on voters in multiple countries. By the time Camus turned the chant "You will not replace us!" into a book seven years later, the theory had invaded nations across the world. And now, at the quarter-century mark of the twenty-first century, it has taken over global politics.

—

Camus's conspiracy that a cabal of powerful elites is plotting a great replacement to ensure the exploitation and domination of low- and middle-income White people is nothing short of a grand distraction. Low- and middle-income White people are facing supercharged efforts to exploit and dominate them at the hands of the very economic and political elites conjuring up fictional tales of the great replacement. This book shows how great replacement theory has spurred many everyday White people into supporting antidemocratic political parties that harm most White people—and the rest of us—in the name of protecting White people from, well, the rest of us. The actual protagonists in this story are the great replacement financiers, politicians, theorists, and soldiers. They are striving to bring into being the actual great replacement humans should fear in the twenty-first century: the replacement of democracy with dictatorship.

Great replacement financiers bankroll individual and organizational super-spreaders of great replacement theory: political parties, organizations, politicians, theorists, alliances, conferences, think tanks, and media outlets. The world's most influential great replacement financier is none other than the world's wealthiest person, as of this writing. Elon Musk purchased Twitter, now X, for $44 billion in 2022. It is a den of great replacement theory. Musk spent at least $288 million to assist in the election of Republicans during the 2024 U.S. election cycle, as Trump wailed about the safety and jobs of Americans being "taken by illegal aliens." Musk has endorsed and platformed great replacement politicians in Germany, Italy, Spain, El Salvador, Argentina, Hungary, France, and the United Kingdom.

The developers and circulators of great replacement theory in the media, like Renaud Camus, are *great replacement theorists.* Many of these theorists imagine themselves as patriotic inheritors and cultivators of homogeneous national cultures. "Cultural inheritors…are the most precious parts of any society: they should

be protected with great care," Camus wrote. "Culture, to thrive, needs a cultivated class."

Political parties and politicians using great replacement theory to secure and maintain authoritarian power can be termed *great replacement parties* and *great replacement politicians.* Sometimes the great replacement financiers and theorists and politicians are one and the same, protecting their immense wealth, authoritarian power, and dominant status in the name of protecting everyday White people from the great replacement.

—

Great replacement theory can be defined as *a political theory that powerful elites are enabling peoples of color to steal the lives, livelihoods, cultures, electoral power, and freedoms of White people, who now need authoritarian protection.* The most extreme articulation of this theory of loss is *genocide theory.* As an example, White genocide theory imagines a political plot to bring on the genocide or extinction of White people. "The Great Replacement is a genocide by substitution," Camus wrote. The supposed tools for this White genocide? Open borders. Immigrant "invasions." Transnational gangs. "Radical Islamic terrorism." Vaccines. "Black on White" murders. Jewish "cabals."

White genocide theorists oppose birth control, pornography, queerness, antiracist Jews, interracial reproduction, feminism (or "gender ideology"), and especially abortion, accusing them all of suppressing White birth rates. They complain about "childless cat ladies," as Vice President JD Vance called single women. They accuse White women of contributing to the genocide of White people when they have abortions or fail to birth three or more White babies. "Having a lot White babies is a great way to fight genocide [*sic*]," posted one user on the forum of WhiteDate.net on August 14, 2021. With Trump standing behind her at a rally on June

25, 2022, Illinois Congresswoman Mary E. Miller called the U.S. Supreme Court's recent decision to overturn the national right to abortion in *Roe v. Wade* a "victory for White life."

White genocide theory has incited *great replacement soldiers,* usually White men who engage in terror attacks in their "war" to protect White people from annihilation. As it happens, these self-identified protectors of White people often have a history of abusing White women: Sometimes they have murdered their White mother or wife before or after they attempted or carried out a mass murder. James Alex Fields Jr., who idolized Adolf Hitler, physically abused his mother, who uses a wheelchair. Fields arrived in Charlottesville, Virginia, on August 12, 2017. He likely chanted "You will not replace us" at a rally the morning after the more well-known evening march lit up with tiki torches. Hours after the morning rally, Fields drove his Dodge Challenger into antiracist counterdemonstrators there. Fields injured thirty-five people and murdered a thirty-two-year-old White woman named Heather Heyer.

There are other articulations of great replacement theory—less extreme, but potentially more *politically* dangerous, because they are more likely to be believed by more people. These include claims that the livelihoods, cultures, electoral power, and freedoms of White people are being stolen. Let's take a quick look at each of these subcategories of the conspiracy theory:

Livelihood: Qualified White people are supposedly being replaced in coveted jobs, opportunities, and taxpayer-funded amenities like housing by unqualified peoples of color, who receive preferential treatment from "anti-White" initiatives like "DEI" (diversity, equity, and inclusion). Camus lambasted the "heralds of 'diversity.' " Musk posted, "DEI is just another word for racism."

Culture: Promoters of multiculturalism—often identified with the shorthand distortions "CRT" (critical race theory) or "wokeism"—are supposedly replacing the cultures of White groups, erasing national history, and harming White children. Camus considered "so-called

multiculturalism" as "yet another code word for the spectacular mercenary dumbing down…and the Great Deculturization."

Electoral power: Political parties are supposedly importing immigrants of color to fraudulently vote and steal elections from White people. Speaking to his Fox News audience, Tucker Carlson said, "I know…all the little gatekeepers on Twitter become literally hysterical if you use the term 'replacement,' if you suggest that the Democratic Party is trying to replace the current electorate" with "more obedient voters from the Third World."

Freedoms: Laws and initiatives meant to protect people, like vaccine mandates, civil rights legislation, gun safety measures, antiracist and feminist education, and mandatory anti-bigotry trainings, are supposedly taking away the freedoms of White people. Florida's Stop Wrongs to Our Kids and Employees (WOKE) Act, signed by Governor Ron DeSantis in 2022, restricted trainings and lessons about racial and gender equality in schools and businesses. It was renamed the "Individual Freedom Act."

—

Great replacement theory is not only a racist and antisemitic idea. Like a virus, Camus's great replacement theory has mutated all over the world into sexist, ethnocentric, homophobic, transphobic, and especially Islamophobic variants. Appealing to men, ethnic majorities, heterosexual and cisgender people, and Jews and Christians (usually through a mythical "Judeo-Christian" construct), great replacement theories warn that women, queer and trans people, ethnic minorities, and Muslims are coming to take their lives, livelihoods, cultures, electoral power, and freedom: Feminists purportedly dominating men in South Korea. Transgender young people, who comprise less than 0.002 percent of collegiate athletes, said to be taking over sports in the United States. Albanians supposedly boxing out Macedonians in North Macedonia. Sub-

Saharan Black Africans apparently displacing Brown Arabs in Tunisia. Muslims professedly terrorizing Hindus in India. Roma people apparently taking out non-Roma people in Central Europe. Homosexuals allegedly "grooming" heterosexuals in Russia. Even "evil" gangs ostensibly replacing "the good people" in El Salvador. Wherever there are lines between privileged and disadvantaged groups, between groups in the majority and the minority, new mutations of great replacement theory have seemed to arise.

This book primarily chronicles the spread of great replacement theory as a racist idea. But it also shows, at times, these mutations to the theory. In a more expansive sense, great replacement theory can be defined as *a political theory that powerful elites are enabling disadvantaged groups to steal the lives, livelihoods, cultures, electoral power, and freedoms of privileged groups, who now need authoritarian protection.*

Great replacement theory has mutated to the point that even some of the original replacers have been led to believe they are being replaced. Now individuals of color and gay people are themselves emerging as great replacement politicians, theorists, and financiers. Camus—himself gay—is not an outlier in this respect. Privilege is relative and relational. Any person who feels their group has more, deserves more, is losing more—is more—than other groups can be targeted by great replacement theory. Some Black and Brown citizens have been led to view undocumented Black and Brown immigrants as replacers, threatening their livelihoods. "And you know who's being hurt the most by millions of people pouring into our country?" Trump asked the attendees of the Republican National Convention on July 18, 2024. "The Black population and the Hispanic population. Because they're taking the jobs from our Black population, our Hispanic population." In this twisted vision, people can simultaneously reject conspiracy theories that their group is taking jobs from others *and* believe conspiracy theories that other groups are taking jobs from them.

—

Subscribing to great replacement theory are heads of state, governing coalition leaders, and major opposition leaders across the geopolitical map: in the United States (President Trump), Canada (party leader Pierre Poilievre), Australia (Senator Pauline Hanson), South Korea (President Yoon Suk Yeol), Israel (Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu), Tunisia (President Kais Saied), China (President Xi Jinping), and India (Prime Minister Narendra Modi); as well as Latin American countries like El Salvador (President Nayib Bukele), Brazil (President Jair Bolsonaro), Chile (President José Antonio Kast), and Argentina (President Javier Milei); plus nearly every country in Europe, including France (party leader Marine Le Pen), Germany (party co-leader Alice Weidel), Italy (Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni), the United Kingdom (party leader Nigel Farage), the Netherlands (party leader Geert Wilders), Sweden (party leader Jimmie Åkesson), Turkey (President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan), Austria (party leader Herbert Kickl), Russia (President Vladimir Putin), and Hungary (Prime Minister Viktor Orbán).

Growing electoral support for these great replacement politicians and their parties cannot be explained so much as a reaction to the fear of being replaced but to *anger* over the supposed great replacement. In many countries, this "White rage," to use historian Carol Anderson's term, is fueled by anger-inducing algorithms and content on media platforms owned, in some cases, by great replacement financiers themselves. French and American political scientists have found that fear *reduces* voter support for France's Rassemblement National (National Rally)—but anger *increases* support for this great replacement party, even among those at the center of "the ideology scale." According to these political scientists, "angry center-left respondents have the same probability of voting" for the National Rally "as nonangry far-right respondents." To draw a stark analogy, on April 11, 1949, the judges

of the Subsequent Nuremberg Trials concluded that the "clear and expressed purpose" of Nazi propaganda "was to enrage Germans against the Jews, to justify the measures taken and to be taken against them."

Polls show critical masses of enraged people around the world are subscribing to some form of great replacement theory. The percentage of American respondents who believed "some elected officials want to increase immigration in order to bring in obedient voters who will vote for them" increased from 37 percent in October 2022 to 42 percent in October 2024, according to a UMass Amherst poll. Republicans' belief in this theory jumped from 66 percent in 2022 to 73 percent in 2024. "Some people speak of the great replacement," that the "European, white, and Christian populations" are "being threatened with extinction following Muslim immigration, coming from the Maghreb and Sub-Saharan Africa," a 2021 Harris Interactive poll stated. "Do you think such a phenomenon exists?" A full 61 percent of French respondents answered yes.

A 2018 YouGov-Cambridge poll found that sizable numbers of survey respondents in Hungary (48 percent), Germany (35 percent), France (30 percent), Britain (30 percent), Sweden (29 percent), and the United States (21 percent)—perceiving the great replacement—believed their governments were hiding data about large numbers of immigrants. One-third of American respondents agreed that "immigrants are invading our country and replacing our cultural and ethnic background," with the number increasing to two-thirds among Republicans. Another poll found that more than 30 percent of American respondents—including one-fifth of Democrats—think that "there is a group of people in this country who are trying to replace native-born Americans with immigrants who agree with their political views." Data from two U.S. public opinion surveys indicates that after terror attacks by Muslims, attitudes shift, allowing great replacement politicians to attract more support from "the more moderate majority." Political scientists Marc J.

Hetherington and Elizabeth Suhay, who analyzed the survey data, concluded, "Many average Americans become susceptible to 'authoritarian thinking' when they perceive a grave threat to their safety." All to say: It seems like the angrier average voters become after being led to perceive a grave threat, the more they consent to authoritarianism.

While great replacement theory is commonly identified as a theory for "far-right" voters, polls indicate that it also appeals to a critical mass of people identified as "center-right," "center-left," "leftist," and "far left." The theory is all about distracting from the actual causes of loss or driving up perceptions of loss, no matter each individual's identity, ideology, or party affiliation. One's life, one's job, one's status, one's way of living, one's freedom, one's nation—all can be perceived as lost, slipping away, in need of authoritarian protection and restoration.

When we take into account the critical masses of people across ideologies, identities, and nations subscribing to the theory, the overwhelming wealth of the people financing its spread, its numerous mutations across different demographic settings, the proliferation of popular theorists and ruling politicians echoing its tenets, and the mammoth amounts of anger and violence and authoritarianism it is cultivating, great replacement theory has become the most dominant political theory of our time.

The most dominant political *theory*—not political philosophy. While a political philosophy is a broad set of beliefs intended to explain almost every occurrence, a political theory is a narrower set of beliefs that explain specific occurrences. A single theory can emerge out of multiple philosophies. One reason great replacement theory has attracted voters across the spectrum is that it blends elements from philosophies across the spectrum, including populism, centrism, socialism, nationalism, liberalism, conservatism, and especially fascism. It shares this particular philosophical

hybridity—a little bit of this, a little bit of that—with another political theory: Nazism.

—

American theorists heavily inspired early Nazi political theorists, no one more than the wealthy New York eugenicist and conservationist Madison Grant. "Where two races occupy a country side by side…the result is that one class or type in a population expands more rapidly than another, and ultimately replaces it," Grant wrote in his 1916 book *The Passing of the Great Race*.

An immigrant from Austria, imprisoned in Germany in 1924 for attempting to overthrow its new democracy, read *The Passing of the Great Race* and later called the book "my Bible." One passage that likely stuck with Adolf Hitler: Grant described the American "man of the old stock being crowded out of many country districts" by Eastern and Southern European "aliens," and "being literally driven off of the streets of New York City by the swarms of Polish Jews." And "while he is being elbowed out of his own home," Grant wrote, "the American looks calmly abroad and urges on others the suicidal ethics which are exterminating his own race."

Hitler would compose his own work in prison. "In general it should not be forgotten that the highest aim of human existence is not the preservation of a state, let alone a government, but the preservation of the species," Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf,* published in 1925. In the 1930s, Nazi theorist Albert Brackmann redefined the concept of *Umvolkung,* which translates to "ethnic/national inversion." At a Nuremberg rally on September 9, 1936, Hitler declared, "We all know that Bolshevism's goal is to exterminate the existing blood- and organically rooted peoples' leadership and to replace it with Jewish elements alien to the Aryan peoples."

Hitler's Nazis routinely chanted "blood and soil," believing the soil of Germany and Eastern Europe was manifestly destined for

"Aryan" blood. In 2017, the marchers in Charlottesville, too, chanted "blood and soil," believing U.S. soil is manifestly destined for "White" blood. Trump called "some" of these marchers "very fine people" and, like the marchers, grieved, "They're trying to take away our culture. They're trying to take away our history." Six years later at a campaign rally, Trump declared that immigrants were "poisoning the blood of our country…. They're coming into our country, from Africa, from Asia, all over the world." In a poll the following year, one-third of American respondents agreed that immigrants were poisoning the blood of the United States. Hitler called it an "inner blood-poisoning."

According to the received history, Nazism died when Hitler died and Nazi Germany fell in 1945. And in their wake, something new was born: *neo*-Nazism. Today, when we hear popular Nazi phrases like "blood and soil," or encounter various forms of Holocaust denial, Hitler worship, Nazi salutes, and genocidal antisemitism, we call it neo-Nazism. But there is nothing new, nothing *neo,* about any of this. Isn't that just plain *Nazism* living on after 1945? What if *neo*-Nazism is truly something new?

Neo-Nazism *should be* defined as a wholly renovated Nazism that retains the original political theory's premises while adding new elements for new times. Great replacement theory is a neo-Nazi theory, replete with its many renovations. A politics of zero-sum blood wars (Nazi), renovated to a politics of zero-sum culture wars (neo-Nazi). Multiple bloodlines can't coexist on the same soil (Nazi), renovated to multiple cultures can't exist on the same soil (neo-Nazi). Ethnic inversion (Nazi), renovated to ethnic substitution (neo-Nazi). Anti-Nazism labeled as cultural Bolshevism (Nazi), renovated to antiracism labeled as cultural Marxism (neo-Nazi). The Jew as the alien enemy (Nazi), renovated to the Muslim as the alien enemy (neo-Nazi). "International Jewry" striving to dominate the globe (Nazi), renovated to "globalists" striving to dominate the globe (neo-Nazi). Jews must be deported to safeguard Aryans from

poisoning and annihilation (Nazi), renovated to peoples of color must be deported to safeguard White people from poisoning and annihilation (neo-Nazi). Any politician or theorist who articulates these renovated ideas, whatever their expressed ideology or party, should be described as neo-Nazi. And this is the definition I utilize in this book.

The success of neo-Nazi great replacement politicians in the twenty-first century often hinges on the success of their most basic renovations—how completely they strip the core ideas down to their structure, while superficially decorating their political theory with new embellishments. The more they remove the Nazi underpinnings from view, the more they entice electoral support for their neo-Nazi project.

Neo-Nazi great replacement theorists do not need to admire Nazis to be neo-Nazis, just as children do not need to admire their parents to be their children. What matters is *genealogy.* A genealogy of theory and tactics.

Even Renaud Camus indirectly acknowledged this ideological genealogy. He has written at length about what he's called the "second career of Adolf Hitler"—how "all of the terms and ideas that were touched, slightly or intensely, by the phraseology of the Third Reich have become suspect; so too are those who use them." Camus argues that many of the terms and ideas Nazis used "were indispensable" to the "protection" of Europe. "Deprived of them, the continent is an open city."

Camus imagined that Hitler's second career—the canceling of Nazi terms and ideas—will finish the job of White extinction that the Nazi leader's first career started. According to Camus, terms and ideas from the political theory that rationalized the gravest amount of White death and destruction in history are needed to prevent White death and destruction in the twenty-first century. Hitler branded himself as the protector of Aryan Europeans from annihilation, then set in motion a world war that killed perhaps as

many as forty-five million White European civilians and soldiers. When people can be made to believe that their slayers are their protectors—and their likeliest allies are their slayers—an authoritarian age becomes politically possible.

—

"When you have thus formed the chain of ideas in the heads of your citizens, you will then be able to boast of leading them and being their masters. A fool despot can constrain slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them much more strongly by the chain of their own ideas."

These are the words of French Enlightenment philosopher Joseph Michel Antoine Servan. In 1767, Servan called on the French monarchy to institute a more effective system of control than iron and steel and torture in prisons. Because "despair and time eat away at the links of iron and steel," Servan said, "but it can do nothing against the habitual union of ideas, it only tightens it more, and on the soft fibers of the brain is founded the unalterable basis of the firmest empires."

Chain of Ideas shows that the ideological origins of our authoritarian age principally lie in great replacement theory. *Chain of Ideas* is a global history of the present, narrating the intellectual and political reemergence of great replacement theory between 2008 and 2025. *Chain of Ideas* chronicles how great replacement politicians, theorists, and financiers built a global antidemocratic political movement, capitalizing on Brexit and Trump's elections and funneling rage over the Great Recession, Barack Obama's election in 2008, the 2015 European migrant crisis, terror attacks, the COVID-19 pandemic with its concurrent surge in violence, and global inflation after Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022. Great replacement theory came precisely to function as an "explanatory

framework for historical events" in the twenty-first century—to adopt historian Jeffrey Herf's description of Nazi antisemitism.

This explanatory framework, this conspiracy theory, is not one idea, but a series of interlocking ideas—or *links*—that form the *chain of ideas.* The links are what give great replacement theory its reach and strength; alone, the individual ideas are outliers that could never have managed to encircle the globe.

There are ten links in the chain of ideas. Each of the ten sections in *Chain of Ideas* tells the story of a single idea, set in a different nation, featuring a different great replacement politician as its main character, while chronologically narrating periods of electoral growth for great replacement parties. The sections connect these political ideas to their historical antecedents, making *Chain of Ideas* transnational and transhistorical. The seeds of great replacement theory emerged at the end of the nineteenth century "when the establishment of modern nationalism in the West concurred with the high days of European colonialism and imperialism," sociologists Sarah Bracke and Luis Manuel Hernández Aguilar explain. Enslavers, colonizers, eugenicists, fascists, segregationists, dictators, apartheid officials, and—most of all—Nazis all expressed earlier versions of these same ten ideas, or of great replacement theory.

—

All the links in the chain of ideas connect to the final and decisive *tenth link:* fighting for privileges provided by dictators rather than power provided by democracy. Let me explain what this means. Great replacement politicians teach privileged groups to covet policies and practices that provide them with a generally better quality of life *over* disadvantaged groups, rather than coveting the shared power of antiracist democracy to provide themselves with the best quality of life together in solidarity with previously

disadvantaged groups. For instance, lower- and middle-income White Americans are taught to covet the privilege of struggling less than their peers of color, rather than harnessing democratic power to eliminate financial struggle for all Americans. To defend their privilege of struggling less than peoples of color do, White Americans must defend racism. To defend racism is to defend racist power. To defend racist power is to increasingly defend dictatorial power. To defend dictatorial power is to defend their own domination.

This resembles the political dynamics back in 1860, when White American enslavers and their financiers on Wall Street reigned as one of the richest and most powerful oligarchies in the world. Everyday White Southerners had the privilege of not being enslaved. Many worked as overseers in one way or another, lording over enslaved Black people. But a White overseer's authority was conditional. The condition: submitting to the White master who lorded over him (and the enslaved). The White master dominated the government, the economy, the cultural infrastructure. Which is to say, the White master dominated the White overseer. To chain another, the White overseer had to accept his own chains, then and now. He spent his lifetime policing the law and order of a racial hierarchy that subordinated him: White elites over everyday White people over Black people. The White overseer, who rarely became a super-wealthy enslaver, spent his lifetime preserving his privilege *and* his subordination.

Great replacement theory manipulates White people, men, middle-income people, Christians, ethnic majorities, and heterosexuals into believing that their *domination* is fleeting at the hands of democracy, antiracism, feminism, queer activism, anti-capitalism, and multiculturalism. But, in fact, these movements remove their *privileges* and their *subordination*. Everyday White people, men, Christians, middle-income people, ethnic majorities, and heterosexuals are members of *privileged* groups, not dominant

groups. Yes, members of privileged groups are empowered to oppress, to exploit, to kill, to *dominate*—as their disadvantaged victims know all too well. But to identify these privileged people as members of dominant groups is to conceal who empowers them: the truly dominant group of oligarchs. To identify privileged people as dominant is to conceal that most of us gain privileges in exchange for submitting to our own domination. When we believe we are dominant as opposed to privileged, we defend our privileges as if we are defending our domination over others. But, in actuality, we are defending the domination of others over us.

Chain of Ideas is a history of dominant power chaining privileged people by their own ideas. People like me. While my life can be a struggle, I have the privilege of not having to struggle against sexism as a man, or homophobia as a heterosexual, or poverty as a college professor, or Islamophobia as a son of Christian ministers, or xenophobia as a U.S. citizen. It can be hard to feel my privilege amid all my struggles, amid all my hard work to get by. It feels easier to erase my privilege, erase these facts of my life, and write over them that women, queer people, impoverished people, Muslims, and immigrants are receiving preferential treatment, are coming for me, are stealing from me, are replacing me. At times, I have felt the tug of this great replacement theory, giving me the ability to empathize with people who have been led to see me, a Black man, as their replacer. I can see their humanity, because I can recall the times when I felt my livelihood was being threatened by demographic change. I felt myself getting angry at times, my unchecked bigotry feeding my anger. But then I saw politicians manufacturing and manipulating my anger. I did not want my privilege to be my prison. I wanted to imprison my privilege to free my power.

The ultimate purpose of great replacement theory is to conceal what members of privileged groups *gain* from antiracist democracy: power over *themselves.* A society where neither everyday White

people nor peoples of color, neither men nor women, neither Christians nor Muslims, neither heterosexuals nor homosexuals, neither low-income people nor middle-income people, neither citizens nor immigrants, neither the ethnic majority nor the ethnic minority are disempowered, lorded over, and ordered around by oligarchs. A question defining political activity in the twenty-first century: Will members of privileged groups spend the century chained by their own ideas, defending their privileges by empowering those who dominate them? Or will they spend the century breaking their chain of ideas and joining with members of disadvantaged groups in the grand power struggle for antiracist democracy?

—

I did not find the subject of this book. The subject of this book found me. My scholarship on racist and antiracist ideas thrust me into the global spotlight. Great replacement politicians and theorists have misrepresented, maligned, and villainized me—and many intellectuals like me—as anti-White, as "racist." They popularized lines of attack that even so-called "centrist" and "liberal" and "leftist" commentators have lodged against me and my scholarship. I have tried to ignore it all. But the bad-faith attacks and character assassinations keep coming. So, I ended up doing my job as a scholar: I researched and studied and historicized these attacks and realized that, of course, they have very little to do with me personally. The links in the chain preceded me.

In *The Great Replacement* in 2011 (before I published my first book), Camus lamented "the dogmatic antiracist regime…which is to say *replacist*." In *You Will Not Replace Us!* in 2018, Camus pointed to "the cruel irony generated by the antiracist society: it is a great provider of racism." He added that "antiracism…is a project with strong genocidal connotations." At the same time, "I believe in

the equality of nothing," Camus admitted. "Equality, as soon as it leaves its legal and political bed, destroys everything it touches."

—

Back in 2010, following his two-hour speech in Lunel, Camus desires the power to prevent equality from leaving its bed. He is a novelist turned politician. But he fails to secure the five hundred signatures required to officially run for president. Yet his career as a French politician ends just when his career influencing geopolitics begins. Camus endorses a candidate. Not the political elder who did as much as anyone in France to disseminate great replacement theory: Jean-Marie Le Pen. Camus endorses Le Pen's daughter. "She is the best able to save," he says, "what can still be saved."

LINK 1

White people lose out as peoples of color gain.

↓

Privileged groups lose out as disadvantaged groups gain.

//

Marine Le Pen

France

CHAPTER 1

Collaborators

It is 2017. A Sunday evening. More than ten million viewers are watching the oldest newsmagazine on American television. The show airs, fatefully, on an infamous day in European history: March 5.

On March 5, 1933, the Nazi Party won the largest number of seats in Germany's legislature. By the month's end, Nazis and their allies had passed the Enabling Act, giving absolute power to Germany's new chancellor, Adolf Hitler. Germany's democracy became a dictatorship. The rest is history—a history littered with the bodies of the dead, most of them White. But Hitler's ideological children in the twenty-first century—great replacement politicians—claim to be protecting White lives. The featured subject on this CBS segment presents herself as protecting White French lives.

"We begin tonight with a story about a populist politician," correspondent Anderson Cooper opens. The camera zooms in. Darkness surrounds him, except for the iconic *60 Minutes* clock logo flanking him.

Hitler's reign of destruction across Europe during World War II had local collaborators. After invading France in 1940, Nazi Germany occupied the north. In the south, Nazis propped up the dictatorship of Marshal Philippe Pétain, based in the resort town of Vichy. The Vichy government, as it came to be known, rounded up and

deported Jews to concentration camps, paid tributes to Nazi Germany, persecuted anti-Nazi dissidents, and enabled the forced labor of more than one million French people. The French Resistance, with the help of the Allied armies, liberated their nation from the Nazis and their French collaborators in 1944.

In the decades after World War II, former Nazi officials and their collaborators throughout Europe created and joined new political parties. Around the world, Nazi and neo-Nazi parties sprang up, with names that contained the word "National," echoing the official name of the Nazi Party: Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, or National Socialist German Workers' Party. In 1972, graying French collaborators marched into a new political party named the Front National, or the National Front.

France's National Front was co-founded by Jean-Marie Le Pen. Born in 1928, Le Pen came of age in the late 1940s and 1950s. One likely early influence on Le Pen was René Binet, a French father of White nationalism who was killed in a car crash on his forty-fourth birthday, in 1957.

Binet edited a communist newspaper, *Le Prolétaire du Havre,* before enlisting in the French army in World War II. But Nazi Germans captured him in more ways than one.

Binet joined the Charlemagne Division of the Waffen-SS, a French collaborationist unit of the Nazi paramilitary. After a brief postwar imprisonment for his Nazi military service, he became a prolific great replacement theorist, warning of "the end of the white world." In 1948, Binet accused "anti-racists of the crime of genocide because they" are "imposing on us a crossbreeding that would be the death and destruction of our race and civilization." In Binet's 1950 *Théorie du racisme* (*Theory of Racism*), he lambasted racial integration, asserting that this "uniform barbarity" came into being as a result of global capitalism's "constant promotion of more and more racially inferior strata to power." Binet's thinking proved to be a forerunner to Camus's "global replacism," which, to Camus,

dissolves differences and makes people "all the same, hence interchangeable, replaceable, pure Undifferentiated Human Matter."

In 1954, Binet helped found a pan-European alliance called the New European Order (NEO), led by Gaston-Armand Amaudruz, a Swiss Holocaust denier. The NEO advocated for "non-native" people to be deported from Europe. NEO officials demanded overseas decolonization to ensure "race purity," all the while dismissing the Holocaust as "a few thousand Jews and degenerates who died of typhus in the labour camps." Two decades later, Jean-Marie Le Pen said the Nazi occupation of France was "not particularly inhumane." Jean-Marie Le Pen's daughter Marine has claimed that the Vichy government "was not France," whitewashing France's history of Nazi collaborators.

These early theorists demonstrate that the structural renovation of Nazi great replacement theory into neo-Nazi great replacement theory did not happen overnight. They dabbled in the old and the new for decades, experimenting until they found the right mix. The old—traditional, unreconstructed Nazism—alienated voters. But once disguised in new language and aimed at new targets, the same ideas attracted new adherents.

Articulating these renovating ideas, Jean-Marie Le Pen's daughter emerged in the 2010s as France's most polarizing politician, and one of the most popular. Which is why she appears on prime-time television in the United States in 2017. CBS's *60 Minutes* introduces her to many American viewers for the first time.

CHAPTER 2

Birther

"**We're talking about** a woman named Marine Le Pen," Anderson Cooper addresses the camera. She's "the candidate in France's upcoming presidential election who's shocked the political establishment with her meteoric rise," he continues. "Shocked because the name Le Pen has long been associated with antisemitism and racism in Europe."

Not two months before this CBS telecast on March 5, 2017, Donald J. Trump took the oath of office as the forty-fifth U.S. president. He too had shocked the political establishment with his meteoric rise, in part because the name Trump had for years been associated with anti-Black racism in the U.S.

Trump had appeared on ABC's *The View* on March 23, 2011, six years prior to Le Pen's *60 Minutes* debut. "I want him to show his birth certificate," Trump said, raising his voice, referring to then-President Barack Obama. Members of the audience clapped. "There's something on that birth certificate that he doesn't like," Trump added.

"Oh my God," Whoopi Goldberg responded.

"Oh, that's a terrible thing to say," Barbara Walters said.

—

On November 4, 2008, Americans elected the first Black president in U.S. history. To great replacement theorists, Obama did not merely replace George W. Bush in the White House. Black supremacy replaced White supremacy, because in their zero-sum story of American power there are only two political possibilities: White supremacy and Black subjection *or* Black supremacy and White subjection (or one might substitute Asian or Indigenous or Middle Eastern or Latino as alternatives to Black).

In the days after Obama's election, hundreds of racist terror attacks occurred throughout the United States. In the aftermath of the election, "a large subset of white people in this country…feel that they are losing everything they know, that the country their forefathers built has somehow been stolen from them," according to the Southern Poverty Law Center's Mark Potok.

An Arkansas Ku Klux Klan leader told a reporter he saw a "race war" on the horizon "between our people, who I see as the rightful owners and leaders of this great country, and their people, the blacks." Grant Griffin, a forty-six-year-old White man in Georgia, told the Associated Press, "Our nation is ruined and has been for several decades and the election of Obama is merely the culmination of the change. If you had real change it would involve all the members of [Obama's] church being deported."

At anti-Obama rallies, posters shrieked: "A Village in Kenya Is Missing Its Idiot: Deport Obama!"

Jürgen Gansel, a German state legislator, described Obama's victory as "Africa conquers the White House." In Gansel's imaginary, Obama wanted to destroy the "white identity" of the United States. A television journalist in Austria stressed he "wouldn't want the Western world to be directed by a black man." A Polish lawmaker called Obama's election "the end of the white man's civilization."

To Renaud Camus, Obama's election signified a harbinger of the great replacement. "The United States, especially under the presidency of Barack Obama," he wrote in *You Will Not Replace Us!,*

"have shown themselves very favourable to the change of people and civilisation in Europe, and almost impatient to see it made irreversible."

—

Obama's election operated as a climactic scene within what sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild termed the "deep story," which she defined as "the story feelings tell," namely "hopes, fears, pride, shame, resentment, and anxiety." In this case, she refers to the feelings of the anti-Obama White voters in Louisiana she befriended and studied during Obama's second term. This deep story made them feel angry, unseen, dishonored, and most of all "strangers in their own land," to quote the title of Hochschild's book. Hochschild read this deep story back to her research subjects, who confirmed that's how they felt.

The deep story goes something like this. Alongside "others who are also white, older, Christian, and predominantly male," you are standing patiently in the middle of a "long line leading up a hill" to the riches of the American Dream, Hochschild narrated. You've "waited a long time, worked hard, and the line is barely moving." You wonder if the line "is moving backward" since "your income has dropped over the last twenty years."

"Look! You see people *cutting in line ahead of you*!" They are Black people, women, immigrants, and Muslims who were at the back of the line, behind you. They are taking your opportunities. They are replacing people like you in line. "It's not fair," Hochschild recounted.

"If people are cutting in line ahead of you, someone must be *helping* them." President Barack Hussein Obama must be "helping" the line cutters. "He feels extra sympathy for them that he doesn't feel for you…. He's telling you that these line cutters *deserve* special treatment, that they've had a harder time than you've had….

You feel betrayed. The president is *their* president, not *your* president." He doesn't seem "proud of America." You are America.

And his "story seems 'fishy.' " How "did *he* rise so high"? Where did he come from?

—

Whoopi Goldberg responded to Trump's birther theory, well suited to the deep story's paranoia. "I think that's the biggest pile of dog mess I've heard in ages!" she said. "It's not because he's Black, is it?"

"It has nothing to do with that," Trump replied.

"I've never heard any White president being asked to [show his] birth certificate," Goldberg quipped.

Pushing the "birther conspiracy theory"—the idea that the first Black president wasn't actually *born* in the United States—launched Donald Trump's political career. "Birtherism" is a great replacement theory. Great replacement theory locates White people as the nation's eternal natives and peoples of color as eternal immigrants —even if their ancestors have lived on the land for hundreds or thousands of years, even if they were born in the nation, even if they are citizens of the nation, even if they are the president of the nation.

President Obama released his long-form birth certificate on April 27, 2011. But Trump did not stop pushing his birther theory. Nor did Trump request the birth certificates of the White candidates he ran against in the 2016, 2020, and 2024 presidential primaries and elections.

On August 11, 2020, Joe Biden chose Kamala Harris to be his running mate for vice president. "I heard it today that she doesn't meet the requirements," Trump told the press days later. Immigrants from Jamaica and India gave birth to Harris in California

in 1964. People were "saying that she doesn't qualify because she wasn't born in this country," Trump continued.

—

The *60 Minutes* correspondent sits comfortably on a stool during his segment opening. Cooper's hands clasp close to his knees, his thumbs touching, nearly making a heart sign.

Marine Le Pen had launched her presidential campaign exactly one month before the CBS interview aired. In one of her campaign posters, she wore a blue suit jacket and a black skirt. She looked at you. Not smiling. Not frowning. Somewhat serene.

With books as a backdrop, she leaned against a table, her hands folded to one side.

Le Pen's upper body took up most of the shot. Crisscrossing her chest, just below her heart, was the slogan "CHOISIR LA FRANCE"—CHOOSE FRANCE.

"CHOOSE FRANCE" almost blended into her body. Le Pen seemed to be embodying France.

The logo for her 2017 campaign: a sleek blue rose with its long stem underlining "*MARINE*" and overlying "*Présidente*." Her surname? Nowhere to be found on her campaign poster. The logo of her political party? Nowhere to be found on her campaign materials.

"Her party, the National Front, used to be on the fringes of French politics," Cooper goes on in his opening, "but in recent years Marine Le Pen has given it a makeover, and she's now riding a wave of populist anger sweeping the West…. And just like Mr. Trump's rise, the rise of Marine Le Pen is turning conventional political wisdom on its head."

The iconic stopwatch of *60 Minutes* ticks. The program cuts to a commercial.

CHAPTER 3

Orchestrated Distancing

In 2011, journalist Russell Shorto spent time with the Le Pen family for *The New York Times Magazine.* In the profile, he labeled the family "almost cultish." Marine is the youngest of Jean-Marie Le Pen's three daughters. All three became devotees of the party their father co-founded. All three married within the party (although one broke with it when her husband did). Marine Le Pen's first two husbands—and her partner at the time of the *60 Minutes* interview—were party officials. When her mother aired her father's antisemitic ideas after their divorce in 1987, Le Pen did not speak to her mother for fifteen years.

Marine Le Pen was born in 1968, the year a movie that evoked great replacement theory was released in the United States. The movie, based on French author Pierre Boulle's 1963 novel *La Planète des singes—Planet of the Apes*—begins in the year 2500, when astronauts crash-land on an unknown planet. They find a world turned upside down. Apes rule over humans, caging them in zoos, using them as lab rats, and hunting them for sport. Many viewers understood the film as a racial allegory, although its meaning was opaque. Were the apes meant to represent Black "replacers" who would one day dominate and subjugate White populations? Or were they meant to simply represent White people, whose long history of slavery and colonization the film recast?

Different viewers came away with different interpretations. But in 1973, another French author, Jean Raspail, published a novel that needed no interpretation.

Le Camp des Saints (*The Camp of the Saints*) depicted throngs of immigrants from Asia and Africa swarming into Europe, New Zealand, and Australia, backed up by Arab and Black people residing in cities like Paris and New York. All taking over. Replacing White people. The book's title came from a biblical passage on the apocalypse. "Our hypersensitive and totally blind West," Raspail wrote in an afterword to a later edition, "has not yet understood that whites, in a world become too small for its inhabitants, are now a minority and that the proliferation of other races dooms our race, my race, irretrievably to extinction in the century to come, if we hold fast to our present moral principles."

Jean-Marie Le Pen almost certainly read the book. It was published fifteen months after he'd co-founded the National Front in 1972. Some French critics and intellectuals praised the novel. The writer Jean Cau wondered if Raspail was "an implacable historian of our future." The book's American publisher, Charles Scribner's Sons, treated it as an important work when it was first translated into English in 1975. *Kirkus Reviews* noted the fanfare, but with a cautionary note: "The publishers are presenting *The Camp of the Saints* as a major event, and it probably is, in much the same sense that *Mein Kampf* was a major event." Another American publisher, the Social Contract Press—designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center—later advertised the novel's "haunting and prophetic vision…of Western Civilization overrun by a burgeoning Third World population." Around 1981, the head of French counterespionage, Count Alexandre de Marenches, shared the English translation with his buddy, U.S. President Ronald Reagan. "I read the book you gave me," Reagan told Marenches weeks later. "It impressed me terribly."

The Camp of the Saints impressed the founders of the great replacement parties that began to proliferate in the 1970s and 1980s, like the Sweden Democrats, founded in 1988. It impressed Hungary's Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, who cited the novel in a 2022 speech in Romania when warning of "population replacement."

On September 6, 2015, Stephen Miller, soon to be a top Trump adviser, emailed editors at the website *Breitbart* asking if they had seen "the Pope saying the west must, in effect, get rid of borders." He noted, "Someone should point out the parallels to Camp of the Saints." Eighteen days later, a *Breitbart* story ran with the headline "'Camp of the Saints' Seen Mirrored in Pope's Message." The executive chairman of *Breitbart,* Steve Bannon, another Trump adviser, repeatedly referenced the novel. "It's not a migration," Bannon told listeners on *Breitbart* radio in January 2016. "It's really an invasion. I call it the Camp of the Saints." Marine Le Pen has urged French people to read the novel so they can understand the nation's "migratory submersion."

Le Pen first read *Le Camp des Saints* when she was eighteen, the age she officially joined the National Front. The novel returned to France's bestseller list the same year Le Pen became the leader of the party: 2011.

—

On January 16, 2011, members of the National Front elected Marine Le Pen as their leader. Le Pen took the stage in triumph alongside her biological and political father, Jean-Marie, then eighty-two. She was surrounded by his lieutenants, who kept their positions. "Prosperity, influence, and French grandeur are within our reach," she said to the cheering party faithful. "Together we can resurrect the eternal France that has inspired humanity for centuries." After the party convention, her father told a reporter, "Politically, barring a few subtleties, she holds the same opinions as me." Weeks before

the party convention, Marine compared French Muslims praying in public to the Nazi occupation of France. "There are of course no tanks, there are no soldiers," she said, "but it is nevertheless an occupation."

Her mandate seemed clear: usher the neo-Nazi National Front into the halls of power. To do so, Le Pen needed money. In 2014, Le Pen secured €9.4 million in loans from Russian banks with ties to the Kremlin. Jean-Luc Schaffhauser, elected that year from the National Front to the European Parliament, brokered the loan. "For years, Schaffhauser wanted to build an alliance between Europe and Russia to act, he said, as a Christian bulwark against Asia and the Middle East," *The Washington Post* reported on December 27, 2018. Ahead of the 2017 presidential and parliamentary elections, Le Pen's party applied for another Russian loan, this time for €27 million. In 2022, Hungary's MKB Bank provided Le Pen's presidential campaign with a €10.7 million loan. The major shareholders of MKB Bank: allies of Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán.

As important as acquiring great replacement financiers, Le Pen had to distance herself and the National Front from her father. She had to present herself as an electable politician, not a neo-Nazi.

In 2015, she seized a political opportunity. Her father repeated his long-standing position that the Nazi gas chambers were "a detail of history" and defended Hitler's French collaborator Philippe Pétain. Marine Le Pen made a spectacle of stripping her father of his honorary title of party president. She suspended or expelled other members after racist statements. These public relations efforts to make the great replacement party or politician more electable, through decrying the racist or neo-Nazi actions or words of a party member or supporter, can be termed *orchestrated distancing.*

In 2018, an undercover reporter secretly recorded Le Pen's party comrades mingling with Génération Identitaire (Identitarian Generation) activists at the GI headquarters in Lille, a bar named the Citadelle. On another day, GI activists, who call themselves

Identitarians, were filmed attacking a teenage Arab girl, admitting to several assaults on Muslims, and giving Nazi salutes. With their terror attacks, flash mobs, occupations, media stunts, street demonstrations, vlogs, livestreams, podcasts, and memes, Identitarians have imagined themselves as "watchmen on the wall in a zero-sum struggle to keep alive what they perceive to be the real European identity," political scientist José Pedro Zúquete explained. In addition to Génération Identitaire in France, these great replacement soldiers have organized as Generazione Identitaria in Italy, Identity Australia, the Dominion Movement in New Zealand, and the American Identity Movement, which was named Identity Evropa when its members chanted "You will not replace us" in Charlottesville in 2017.

Christelle Lechevalier, a member of the European Parliament from Le Pen's party, told the undercover reporter that the views of most National Front politicians resemble GI activists. But Lechevalier said they've consciously hidden their views from voters. "We need the greatest number of people to come to our side to obtain the highest vote in order to win," she said. "Then we can do what we want when we are in power." The undercover reporter asked Lechevalier why Le Pen did not want senior party leaders to publicly associate with GI activists. "She doesn't want us to show ourselves," Lechevalier said. "She doesn't want people to see us."

The main "us" Le Pen did not want people to see: neo-Nazis. Her orchestrated distancing over the last decade has allowed her father's old neo-Nazi party to become more attractive to electoral buyers even as the party's foundational ideas and policies remain nearly the same. Le Pen's orchestrated distancing, directed as much at journalists as at potential voters, has become known by another telling term: "un-demonization" (*dédiabolisation*).

The orchestrated distancing worked for Le Pen. She seemed to be on the cusp of achieving her mandate almost immediately. Weeks after taking over the National Front in 2011, polls had her

beating President Nicolas Sarkozy in the following year's presidential election. Sarkozy decided to do what mainstream elected officials have done ever since to slow the rise of great replacement politicians: lean in to great replacement theory himself. In 2011, Sarkozy fired his diversity minister and judged multiculturalism "a failure." He backed a law banning full face veils and organized a "debate on Islam" that French Muslims saw as an attack on Islam. In the 2012 presidential election, Sarkozy lost to François Hollande, with Le Pen coming in third. Hollande did not run for reelection in 2017, setting up a showdown between Le Pen and Hollande's economic minister, Emmanuel Macron.

This is the matchup Le Pen is about to face when she films the *60 Minutes* interview.

CHAPTER 4

2011

The spread of Marine Le Pen's political popularity corresponded with the reemergence of great replacement theory in the twenty-first century—a phenomenon that visibly took off in 2011. This was the year Le Pen took the helm of her father's party and Camus published *The Great Replacement.* This was the year Trump first pushed his birther theory.

This was the year behavioral scientist Michael I. Norton and psychologist Samuel R. Sommers published a study revealing a shift in American attitudes about racial progress. For years, surveys had found that White Americans were those most likely to perceive that racial progress had been made. For example, a 2007 Pew Research Center survey showed that White respondents were nearly twice as likely as Black respondents to think Black Americans were "better off now than five years ago." But Norton and Sommers's 2011 study demonstrated that a substantial number of White Americans now believed racial progress had come at their expense. These White Americans viewed racism as "a zero-sum game, such that decreases in perceived bias against Blacks over the past six decades are associated with increases in perceived bias against Whites—a relationship not observed in Blacks' perceptions," Norton and Sommers explained. "Moreover, these changes in Whites' conceptions of racism are extreme enough that Whites now come to

view anti-White bias as a bigger societal problem than anti-Black bias."

The epigraph for this groundbreaking study was a quote from Alabama Senator Jeff Sessions on July 13, 2009, eight years before he would become Trump's attorney general. During Sonia Sotomayor's Supreme Court confirmation hearing, Sessions disparaged her for having challenged racist employment practices at public agencies in Connecticut and New York. "Empathy for one party is always prejudice against another," Sessions said.

Public policy expert Heather McGhee has heavily researched what she dubs the "zero-sum story." Among her most resonant findings is how, in the era of desegregation, White families lost out when towns *closed* public pools and other public amenities, rather than desegregating them. In more recent times, McGhee has uncovered the same dynamic at play across the economy as White Americans face escalating costs for healthcare, retirement, childcare, and college due to cuts to government benefits—cuts many White people supported, on the supposition they are "handouts" for peoples of color.

In her 2021 book *The Sum of Us,* McGhee explains that the zero-sum story has been supported by three false propositions sold to White Americans. The first is that "the presence of more people of color" is "a threat to their status." Next, that "racial groups" are "in a direct competition." And finally, that "progress for one group" is "an automatic threat to another." For McGhee, "the logical extension of the zero-sum story is that a future without racism is something white people should fear, because there will be nothing good for them in it. They should be arming themselves…because demographic change will end in a dog-eat-dog race war." Adolf Hitler cast the world in similar zero-sum terms. A world where "one being feeds on another and the death of the weaker means the life of the stronger," Hitler wrote.

This belief in a dog-eat-dog world has been reinforced by capitalist myths about natural scarcity. Low- and middle-income people of all races have been led to believe there's only so much to go around. But with the immense productive capacity of humanity in the twenty-first century, scarcity—like poverty, like group inequity—has been a function of policy, not nature. Just as government policy allows the super-wealthy to hoard resources, government policy can eliminate a scarcity of resources for everyone.

Human groups are natural allies against inequity. But the zero-sum story paints human groups as natural enemies. And the zero-sum story inevitably leads to great replacement theory. And this theory, taken to its logical extreme, has driven some people to mass-murder their perceived enemies.

CHAPTER 5

Oslo

Neither Camus's book, nor Trump's birther theory, nor Le Pen's takeover of her father's party, nor the "zero-sum" study sent shockwaves across the world in 2011 quite like the explosion that shook the capital city of Norway on July 22 of that year. On that day, a white Volkswagen Crafter exploded in the government quarter of Oslo near the office of Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg. The use of the van bomb on a government building paralleled the Oklahoma City bombing carried out by an American neo-Nazi in 1995, which killed 168 people.

In Oslo, eight people died and more than two hundred people suffered injuries in the 2011 blast. The buildings were emptier than usual on that day, since many Norwegians vacation in late July. Prime Minister Stoltenberg was unharmed.

Anders Behring Breivik, a thirty-two-year-old White Norwegian, parked the van bomb. He was born to a diplomat and a nursing assistant in 1979. After his parents divorced when he was a toddler, Breivik grew up in Oslo with his mother. His mother, who at seventeen ran away from abuse, became emotionally and psychologically abusive toward her son. As a teenager in the mid-1990s, Breivik found an outlet in Oslo's burgeoning hip-hop community. He became a graffiti artist. After being caught drawing graffiti at age sixteen, Breivik left graffiti and hip-hop behind.

For years, Breivik roamed, sometimes out of the country. Along his travels, he encountered Norway's fringe great replacement party, Fremskrittspartiet, or the Progress Party. Breivik joined its youth branch in 1999 at age twenty.

Breivik found a community and a cause in the Progress Party. He came to see his calling as defending against the supposed great replacement of Europe. In 2002, the year he said he'd started planning his attack, Breivik chaired the local branch of the party's youth organization. Then he left the party in 2006, having concluded, "It would be impossible to change the system democratically."

Progress Party leaders had been issuing dire warnings about a Muslim takeover of Norway for years. After the attack, the party orchestrated distance from Breivik. "If anyone in [the Progress Party] has opinions in line with what Behring believes, they will be excluded," said Per Arne Olsen, a deputy leader of the party.

—

On the day of the bombing, Breivik parked the van bomb close to the government buildings. He got out and walked to another car. Breivik drove about an hour northwest of Oslo. He arrived at his destination at around 5 P.M., an hour and a half after he detonated the van bomb. Breivik set off on a ferry from the Norwegian mainland to the tiny island of Utøya, where the Norwegian Labour Party—the party in power at the time—was holding a summer camp for more than five hundred youths.

Dressed as a police officer, using a forged police ID, Breivik gained access to the campgrounds under the ruse he had come to secure the camp after the bombing. He opened fire with a semiautomatic rifle and a pistol, sending everyone scurrying and hiding. He hunted, keeping up his cover as a police officer to lure

people closer to him for an easier shot. An allegory for great replacement theory.

While gunning down everyone he could find on the island, Breivik also shot at people swimming or boating away from the island. "You will die today, Marxists," he shouted during the attack.

Breivik's motive for murdering the Labour Party youth was to hinder the party's future recruitment, he said. He planned to assassinate former Labour Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. But Brundtland had departed the island earlier that day.

Norwegian police took more than an hour to arrive at the island. They arrested Breivik without incident. During his hour-long rampage, Breivik had murdered sixty-nine people and injured sixty-six more, bringing the total death toll for both terror attacks that day to seventy-seven. Of the sixty-nine people Breivik killed on Utøya, fifty-five were younger than nineteen years old. The majority of the victims were White. Historians marked it as the deadliest attack in Norway since the Nazi occupation during World War II.

After Breivik's arrest, authorities discovered his manifesto online. He'd titled it "2083: A European Declaration of Independence." Prosecutors charged him with terrorism and murder. He was convicted and incarcerated after a trial during which he had displayed a sign that read: "Stop your genocide against our white nations."

CHAPTER 6

Declaration of Independence

Anders Breivik's 2011 manifesto was a 1,518-page collection of lists and texts, most of which he lifted wholesale from other sources. Humans are not born mass political murderers. Political theories turn humans into political murderers. Political theories that are produced, spread, and consumed. And there is no more violent political theory than great replacement theory, specifically White genocide theory. Great replacement soldiers, almost to a man, believe White genocide theory. And they have written their beliefs time and again. No history of great replacement theory is whole without their chilling words.

The violence of great replacement soldiers is a harbinger of larger-scale violence to come, especially when maniacal great replacement politicians echo these maniacal great replacement soldiers. Mass murder of civilians by armed men can become the total wars and genocides of leaders of state militaries. Humanity looks away from the manifestos of great replacement soldiers—as humanity once did Hitler's manifesto—at our own peril.

Breivik's manifesto rambled incoherently. It bore the signs of a disorganized and hateful mentality. But it's still a useful document to study, as many of his ideas have gone mainstream over the years.

Like Renaud Camus, Breivik considered Muslim immigration to be "colonization." He demanded the mass deportation of all Muslims from Europe before 2083. But that plan proved secondary to his primary goal. "You cannot defeat Islamisation or halt/reverse the Islamic colonization of Western Europe without first removing the political doctrines manifested through multiculturalism/cultural Marxism," Breivik wrote.

Breivik defined "cultural Marxists" as "individuals who support multiculturalism" or "political correctness." Breivik rejected the actual definition of multiculturalism: respecting, including, and protecting the cultures of all peoples, including European cultures. Instead, Breivik defined multiculturalism through a zero-sum logic: a "European hate ideology which was created to destroy our European cultures."

Brevik argued that "cultural Marxists" have "allowed Islamic demographic warfare to be initiated." In 2019, UK Member of Parliament Suella Braverman proclaimed her Conservative Party to be "in a battle against cultural Marxism." In 2023, Texas Senator Ted Cruz published *Unwoke: How to Defeat Cultural Marxism in America.* (Politicians and theorists, including Cruz in his book, have routinely labeled me a "cultural Marxist" for my antiracist scholarship.)

Great replacement politicians renovated the term "cultural Marxist" from the Nazi term "cultural Bolshevism." Nearly a century ago, Nazis labeled anti-Nazi intellectuals "cultural Bolshevists." They used the label as an antisemitic smear—a warning that Jews were seeking to replace good Aryan art and ideas with degenerate art and ideas. Both cultural Bolshevism and cultural Marxism defy any stable meaning beyond the intent to stigmatize and otherize antifascist and antiracist intellectuals, particularly those who are Jewish or Black.

Breivik moved on to feminism next. The "flowering in recent decades" of feminism "has been interwoven with the unfolding

social revolution carried forward by cultural Marxists," he argued. He rejected a more standard definition of feminism: "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression," as feminist scholar bell hooks defined it. This definition does not "imply that men were the enemy," hooks explained. "Practically, it is a definition which implies all sexist thinking and action is the problem, whether those who perpetuate it are female or male, child or adult."

Breivik viewed the gendered world as he viewed the cultural world: through a zero-sum story en route to a sexist great replacement theory. Feminism, in his view, positioned women as superior to men in order to subjugate men and establish a woman-dominated society. Breivik maintained that this "feminism" was ascendant through television characters emphasizing the "inferiority of the male and superiority of the female," through the "government-mandated employment preferences and practices" that "use 'sexual harassment' charges to keep men in line," and the fact that "several European countries allow and fund free distribution of contraceptive pills combined with liberal abortion policies." Breivik asserted that "the feminisation of European culture" was "destroy[ing] traditional European structures, the very foundation of European culture."

Breivik copied and pasted a piece by blogger Peder Are Nøstvold Jensen—pen name Fjordman—on "Anti-Racist Witch Hunts." Breivik alleged elsewhere in the manifesto that "the slightest excuse to label whites as '*racist*' is continually sought." Breivik maintained that "the vast majority of racism and racist violence comes from non-whites against whites" when, unsurprisingly, a study found that in Norway, immigrants and their Norwegian-born children were more likely than Norwegians to report experiencing racism in their lifetimes, with immigrants of color the most vulnerable. And yet "anti-white racism is rarely mentioned as a problem by the mainstream media"—a passage Breivik lifted from Fjordman. Breivik

raged against "bloodthirsty genocide committed by hate-filled, anti-white, racist immigrants."

Breivik, copying Fjordman again, pointed to the "quasi-religious undercurrent to the anti-racist movement." He presaged the thesis of linguist John McWhorter's 2021 book *Woke Racism: How a New Religion Has Betrayed Black America.* Breivik's manifesto blasted the "ridiculous pursuit of equality," while declaring: "I consider myself to be an anti-racist, anti-fascist and anti-Nazi. That's the main reason why I oppose Cultural Communism/European multiculturalism. THEY are the Nazis, they are the fascists and they are the racists! I have witnessed much racism in my time but 90% of it has been against Europeans."

Breivik stressed the "imperative" that his readers "spend the next decades to recruit, build and consolidate our forces and try to reach a common vision of a future Europe." He inserted a long list of European great replacement organizations and parties, including parties "incited by Jean-Marie Le Pen of the Front National."

Whose daughter is now on *60 Minutes.*

CHAPTER 7

Great Recession

***60 Minutes* returns** from commercial. Marine Le Pen's face appears on screen. "The polls say you can't win," Anderson Cooper exclaims. He is wearing a gray suit with lighter gray vertical stripes, a white dress shirt, and a blue tie. Le Pen narrows her eyes and chuckles.

Viewers see footage of Le Pen walking into her campaign launch the previous month at the Lyon Convention Center, in France's third-largest city. Le Pen is smiling, waving, kissing into the air. The slogan "AU NOM DU PEUPLE"—IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE—is screaming silently on a large screen in front of the crowd. Thousands of White people chant Le Pen's name and wave French flags as Cooper's voiceover says, "The nationalist policies Marine Le Pen embraces are gaining supporters throughout France and around the world."

CBS cuts back to Le Pen's face. "Nations are forcing themselves back into the debate," Le Pen says to Cooper. "Nations with borders we control, with people that we listen to, with real economies, not Wall Street economies, but rather factories and farmers. And this goes against unregulated globalization. A wild, savage globalization."

"Savage globalization?" Cooper asks.

"Yes, savage, of course," Le Pen responds. "Wild globalization has benefited some, but it's been a catastrophe for most."

—

Perhaps more than any other factor, the Great Recession that began in 2008 created the conditions for the reemergence of great replacement theory. The lack of regulatory oversight of the financial sector allowed multinational banking institutions like Lehman Brothers to overleverage and undercapitalize themselves. Wealthy individuals with more and more money to invest from years of growing inequality pursued riskier and riskier investments. Among the riskiest investments were predatory U.S. subprime mortgages, which banks across North America and Europe bundled and sold to investors as mortgage-backed securities.

When homeowners defaulted en masse on their mortgages, the international mortgage-backed securities market bottomed out. Big banks across the Western world lost big. Governments bailed out their major banks and created stimulus packages to save their economies.

Heather McGhee has documented how U.S. lenders largely mastered their subprime mortgage predation on Black and Brown homeowners *before* preying on White homeowners. When Black and Brown homeowners started defaulting on their loans, government officials assumed financial mismanagement was the cause, rather than predatory subprime mortgages. The racist neglect let the predation spread like a virus to the rest of the U.S. economy and abroad.

Racism is a virus of predatory policies, practices, and ideas that harm humanity. From its origins in the fifteenth century—when the Atlantic human trade of African people began—the virus has sometimes harmed White people first before ultimately harming peoples of color more severely.

The enslavement of Eastern European "Slavs" in Western Europe prefigured the enslavement of the African "slave." Internal colonization in Europe—for example, England's colonization of Ireland—presaged European overseas colonization. Industrial capitalism dispossessed subsistence farmers in Western Europe—and forced them into exploitable wage work and dependent consumption—at the same time as it more severely dispossessed and exploited peoples of color as workers and consumers the world over.

Perhaps more often, the virus of racism has ensnared peoples of color first and quite severely, only to ultimately harm White people too. The decolonial intellectual Aimé Césaire maintained that ruthless overseas colonization and genocides provided the backdrop for the Nazi colonization and genocides of White Europeans. What White Europeans could not "forgive Hitler for is not *crime* in itself, *the crime against man…*it is the crime against the white man, the humiliation of the white man," Césaire wrote in his classic *Discourse on Colonialism,* published in French in 1950 as *Discours sur le colonialisme*. Césaire remarked that Hitler had "applied to Europe colonialist procedures which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of Algeria, the coolies of India, and the blacks of Africa."

Even the most hellish form of anti-Black racism—transatlantic human trading—became a hell for White people too. There were sky-high death rates for White sailors who stood guard on these floating prisons packed with trafficked Africans destined for slavery camps. What's more, there were incarcerated, impoverished, or industrious White people kidnapped or duped onto ships, carried across oceans, and sold into semi-slavery in colonies from the Americas to Australia. But instead of being taught their history of domination and exploitation, everyday White people have been taught the zero-sum story. Especially in moments of financial crisis like the Great Recession.

—

Between 2007 and 2010, more than half of the total increase in global unemployment struck wealthy countries, even as those countries contained a combined 15 percent of the world's labor force. Non-EU countries in Central and Eastern Europe had the highest unemployment rates in the world at the end of 2009. Men fared the worst in terms of job losses during the Great Recession, since men were most concentrated in the sectors most impacted, namely manufacturing and construction. Older workers who lost their jobs struggled the most to find new ones. Elders living on pensions (and stocks) watched their incomes decline as the value of their retirement accounts tanked, with declines in private pensions particularly acute in Australia, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Men, older workers, retirees—the White demographic groups most affected by the Great Recession—were those most targeted with great replacement theory at this early stage.

In 2010, with a better-than-predicted recovery, many national and local governments introduced austerity packages that cut government spending and raised taxes, deepening the hurt and pain for everyday people reliant on the public sector. The Great Recession intersected with the European Union's sovereign debt crisis, causing several member states to need bailouts from wealthier countries.

German economists Manuel Funke, Moritz Schularick, and Christoph Trebesch analyzed more than eight hundred elections from 1870 to 2014 in "advanced democracies." They discovered that financial crises allow great replacement parties—what these researchers termed "far-right parties"—to boost their share of the vote by 30 percent on average. "After a crisis, voters seem to be particularly attracted to the political rhetoric of the extreme right,

which often attributes blame to minorities or foreigners," they wrote.

As the financial crisis worsened, everyone from leaders of great replacement parties to great replacement organizations recognized the opportunity. "Historically, when times get tough in our nation, that's how movements like ours gain a foothold," Jeff Schoep, leader of the National Socialist Movement, the largest Nazi organization in the United States, told *USA Today* in October 2008. "When the economy suffers, people are looking for answers…. We are the answer for white people."

Four other researchers found the rise in European unemployment after financial crises could lead to divergent outcomes: in some cases, it fuels "support for far-left parties," while in others "it encourages far-right nationalistic and xenophobic parties." For "far-left parties," the researchers referenced Podemos (We Can) in Spain, founded in 2014 to oppose austerity, inequality, and corruption. Spanish voters catapulted Podemos into the third-largest party in the nation's parliament in 2015. At the same time in the United States, Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders, a democratic socialist, nearly secured the Democratic presidential nomination in 2016 and 2020. Some aggrieved White voters rushed to politicians like Trump; others rushed to politicians like Sanders.

What separated the Sanders and Trump voters? Great replacement theory. Studies have shown that financial struggles due to economic crises do not automatically bring White voters—or men, or Christians—to great replacement politicians like Trump. What brings these voters to great replacement politicians in times of economic crises seems to be their hardening belief that their groups are under attack by ruling elites who are purportedly enabling peoples of color, women, and Muslims to replace them.

In a 2018 paper, political scientist Diana C. Mutz argued that economic anxiety caused by a "change in financial wellbeing had little impact" on whether people supported Trump. "Those who felt

that the hierarchy was being upended—with whites discriminated against more than blacks, Christians discriminated against more than Muslims, and men discriminated against more than women—were most likely to support Trump," Mutz explained. In a 2019 study of White Americans who'd voted for Obama in 2012 and Trump in 2016, other political scientists found "little evidence" that the switch had been due to "economic dislocation and marginality." These researchers noted that White voters with "anti-immigrant attitudes" switched their votes to Trump at higher rates than White voters with "more liberal" attitudes on race and immigration.

The Great Recession ended up being the worst global economic crisis up to that point since the Great Depression. It was not a coincidence that the 1930s was also the last time that great replacement politicians were as powerful as they have become in our age. The Nazis upped their German vote totals from 18.3 percent in 1930 to over 40 percent in the March 1933 elections. Across Europe, great replacement parties exploited the crisis and boosted their voting share in that decade, including Belgium's Flemish National Union, Denmark's National Socialist Workers' Party, and Switzerland's National Front.

Likewise, Le Pen's National Front earned 13.6 percent of the French vote in the first election after the financial crisis in 2011, compared to 4.3 percent in 2007. Over a longer time span, between 2004 and 2014, the vote share of great replacement parties tripled.

Founded in 1973, Norway's Progress Party, which had once appealed to Anders Breivik, had its best performance in parliamentary elections in 2009, securing 22.9 percent of the vote and forty-one seats in parliament. Even as Breivik came to see his old party as "part of the problem," he still considered it "the only major political party in Norway that has voiced any serious opposition to the madness of Muslim immigration." One of the party's up-and-coming leaders, Sylvi Listhaug, repeatedly used the phrase "sneaky Islamization." The phrase gained wide usage after

American great replacement theorist Robert Spencer published *Stealth Jihad* in 2008.

The gains of great replacement parties and politicians kept coming. In 2009, Slovakia reelected Ivan Gašparovič of the Slovenská Národná Strana (Slovak National Party) as president, and North Macedonia elected Gjorge Ivanov of the VMRO-DPMNE as president. In the 2010 parliamentary election, the Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats) secured seats for the first time since this great replacement party's founding in 1988. After 2010, the party's share of votes and number of parliamentary seats increased in every election over the next fourteen years. In 2011, the Perussuomalaiset (Finns Party) surged out of nowhere to become the third-largest party in Finland's parliament. New Zealand First, after losing all of its seats in the House of Representatives in 2008, obtained eight seats in 2011, surfacing as the fourth-largest party in the country's parliament.

Where great replacement parties did not exist before the Great Recession, politicians formed new parties or transformed existing ones. In the United States, racist backlash to the election of Barack Obama played a role, as the Tea Party transformed the Republican Party in 2009 and 2010.

In the 2010 midterm elections, Tea Party Republicans picked up sixty-three seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, the GOP's largest net gain of seats since 1938. In Peru, Keiko Fujimori Higuchi, the daughter of the dictator who ruled the country in the 1990s, formed Fuerza Popular (Popular Force) in 2010, narrowly losing the presidential election the following year. Latvia's Nacionālā Apvienība (National Alliance) emerged in time for the 2010 parliamentary elections. Its party leader, Raivis Dzintars, has participated in the annual Legionnaires Day marches of Nazis and neo-Nazis who commemorate the Latvian Waffen-SS. Some members of this legion had previously murdered nearly all of Latvia's Jews by 1943.

CBS viewers likely do not see a neo-Nazi in Marine Le Pen. They see an abandoned factory up the road in the background. In the foreground, there is debris everywhere. Cooper's voiceover comes.

CHAPTER 8

Who Is France?

"**Jobs have faded** away and immigrants have flooded in, many of them Muslim immigrants from North Africa," Anderson Cooper says on *60 Minutes,* echoing Le Pen's talking points.

From the abandoned factory, the newsmagazine now cuts to a bustling food market. Viewers notice Muslim people, "who Le Pen says are draining resources, rejecting French values, and transforming the culture," Cooper continues.

CBS brings viewers back to Le Pen's face. She listens as Cooper says, "One of the concerns of many of your supporters is that immigration, current immigration, is changing the character of France. It's changing the spirit of the country."

"It's because of this massive immigration and more in some places, [that] France's image has undeniably changed," Le Pen says. "There are a number of neighborhoods where you are no longer living a French life. That's undeniable."

"France is still a country of bistros and fine Bordeaux, baguettes and bucolic churches," Cooper says as viewers are shown images of the Eiffel Tower, diners outside a Parisian bistro named Le Bastille, red wine being poured. Green pastures surround the Église Saint-Blaise, a small rural church north of Lyon dating back to the eleventh century. "But immigrants now make up 12 percent of the population," Cooper says, "and they've brought with them new

beliefs and customs: couscous and kebabs, headscarves, and an outfit called the burkini, a full-body swimsuit for Muslim women that's become the latest flashpoint in a raging culture war."

In fact, these beliefs and customs have long existed in France—well before those people of North African descent Camus spotted in Hérault. But in Camus's erroneous telling, "Until the end of the nineteenth century, France had practically *no* immigration."

In the 1700s, Black seafarers were already living in France's ports. After the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, tens of thousands of people of African descent migrated to France. Eventually, there were so many Muslims living in France's capital that they began building the Great Mosque of Paris in 1922. Thirty years later, Black psychiatrist Frantz Fanon studied the "syndrome" of North Africans living in France.

This is not about new or old beliefs and customs. For Le Pen, this is about: *Who* is France?

—

It is an old question.

In 1894, France falsely convicted a Jewish artillery captain in the French army for passing military secrets to the Germans. After the conviction, his captors publicly degraded Alfred Dreyfus in the courtyard of the École Militaire in Paris. The mob tore his insignia from his military uniform and broke his sword. Dreyfus heard the antisemitic shouts "Death to Judas, death to the Jew!"

For antisemitic French thinkers like Maurice Barrès, the Dreyfus Affair confirmed that Jews were not France, that Jews posed a threat to France. To Barrès, Jews were "unrooted" foreigners and Dreyfus's betrayal marked the coming replacement. "Today, among us, new French people have crept in who we do not have the strength to assimilate," Barrès wrote. At the same time, "the decline in our birth rate" and the mounting deaths of "our most active

compatriots" in wars have permitted "the invasion of our territory and our blood by foreign elements."

Evidence surfaced in 1896 of the real traitor: the non-Jewish major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy. But the damage to French Jews had been done. In reaction to the Dreyfus Affair, a group of antisemitic operatives founded Action Française (French Action) in June 1899, aiming for France to be "remade" as a monarchy. A few months later, French President Émile Loubet pardoned Dreyfus.

Charles Maurras emerged as French Action's leading voice. He raged about the "anti-France": the Jew, the Protestant, the Mason, and the *métèque* (or immigrant, in a xenophobic neologism of his coining). "The real question, the one that really arises, is the life or death of some forty million French people. It is a question of knowing whether we are at home in France or whether we are no longer there," Maurras wrote in 1912. "It is perfectly clear that we will soon no longer exist if we continue going at this rate." Decades later, Maurras welcomed the Vichy dictatorship that collaborated with the Nazis as a "divine surprise." He, like Hitler, had the audacity to blame World War II on Jews. In 1944, Maurras was arrested and sentenced to life for his treason.

Steve Bannon, the Trump aide who admired Raspail's *The Camp of the Saints,* admired Charles Maurras as well. So did Jean-Marie Le Pen. The journalist Simon Kuper, writing in the *Financial Times,* described Marine Le Pen as treading in the "footsteps" of Maurras too. Kuper referenced an article published in *Le Figaro* in 1927, after France made it easier for immigrants to become citizens. "Three million vigorous, healthy, honest Frenchmen have been shipped to the slaughterhouse so they could be replaced by the world's vermin," the article stated at a time when most immigrants came from Italy, Poland, Spain, and Belgium. French elites desired "to replace the French race in France with a different race."

In 1959, French President Charles de Gaulle faced the prospect of integrating Algerian Muslims into France as he warred to crush

their liberation struggle. He would have none of it. "It's very good that there are yellow French, black French, brown French," de Gaulle wrote. "But on condition that they remain a small minority. Otherwise, France would no longer be France. We are still above all a European people of the white race, of Greek and Latin culture and of the Christian religion. Let's not tell stories! The Muslims…with their turbans and their djellabas…they are not French!" Renaud Camus described de Gaulle's words as "plain phrases of wisdom and good sense."

—

"France isn't burkinis on the beach," Le Pen tells Cooper, referring to the full-body swimsuit worn by many Muslim women. "France is Brigitte Bardot. That's France."

Brigitte Bardot was a blond White movie star and sexual icon from the France of the 1950s and 1960s, akin to Marilyn Monroe in the United States. Bardot married Jean-Marie Le Pen's former adviser and maintained a close friendship with the elder Le Pen. Bardot has been fined six times for "inciting racial hatred." In 2021, when she was eighty-seven years old, a court fined her for describing the people of Réunion, a French overseas department in the Indian Ocean, as being "a degenerate population still soaked in barbarous ancestral traditions." In 2008, Bardot wrote that Muslims are "destroying us, destroying our country."

Cooper asks, "Should Muslim people be allowed to wear headscarves?"

"No. I'm opposed to wearing headscarves in public places. That's not France," Le Pen replies.

Viewers watch a woman wearing a headscarf pace down the street with a girl on each side of her.

"It's not just headscarves," Cooper adds. "Le Pen says she would ban yarmulkes in public"—the brimless caps, also known as kippahs,

that Jewish men wear. Cooper claims Le Pen called for the banning of "any conspicuous symbol of religious belief."

Le Pen has not called for the banning of Christian symbols like crosses. When a French television journalist asked, one month before the *60 Minutes* interview, "Are crosses also affected?" Le Pen responded, "Christian religions do not have conspicuous symbols; in reality, we invented secularism."

In 2004, France banned Muslim girls from wearing headscarves—as well as banning Jewish yarmulkes, Sikh turbans, and large Christian crosses—in public primary and secondary schools. In 2011, France introduced a ban on full-face veils in public (commonly known as a "burqa ban," though it applies to both burqas and niqabs). In 2017, a law passed in Xinjiang in northwest China—home to Uyghurs—that prohibited these Chinese Muslims from growing long beards and wearing veils. The Netherlands instituted a burqa ban on public transit and in public buildings in 2019. A mainstream political party stewarded this act to head off an Islamophobic great replacement party led by Geert Wilders.

A niqab resembles a burqa, covering the entire body, but leaves the woman's eyes uncovered. In 2016, Dzintars Rasnačs, Latvia's then–minister of justice and a member of the National Alliance, announced his administration's proposal for banning full-face veils in public, including the niqab and the burqa. Latvia borders Lithuania and Belarus to the south and Russia to the east. "A legislator's task is to adopt preventive measures," Rasnačs intoned. An estimated three women among Latvia's population of about two million people wore a niqab in 2016. You read that right. Not 3 percent. *Three women in the entire country.* "We do not only protect Latvian cultural-historical values, but the cultural-historical values of Europe," Rasnačs explained.

—

"I'm not waging a religious war," Le Pen says to Cooper with a straight face. "It's clear that in France everyone has the right to practice their religion, to worship as they choose."

Le Pen's zero-sum rhetoric can lead a Christian to see a Muslim woman as a replacer when she wears a hijab. But what if Christians saw Muslims as expanders instead? The more religions in any given society, the more freedom to practice religions. The more freedom to practice religions, the more freedom to practice one's *own* religion—including branches of Catholicism and Protestantism that warred for supremacy in Europe over centuries. Politicians can strive to protect all religions, or they can wage war on certain religions, which ultimately leads to wars between religions (and branches), which ultimately leads to wars against all religion. When a politician wages war on another religion, it opens the door to war being waged on their own religion too. Zero-sum stories are self-destructive. And they have been self-destructive for as long as there have been multiracial nations.

CHAPTER 9

Lost Cause

Zero-sum stories have their roots in the paradoxes of modern nation-states. How did the executors of the most barbaric systems of colonialism and apartheid in the modern world consider themselves the most civilized? How could maintainers of mass inequality claim they were committed to equality? How could enslavers of people declare their national creed was freedom? Because they thought in a zero-sum imaginary: that some group had to be enslaved, and those enslaved peoples could secure their freedom only through the enslavement of their former masters. Freedom for all groups, impossible. They thought that the disadvantaged could create equality for themselves only through a new inequality between themselves and the formerly privileged. Equality for all groups, impossible. They thought the colonized could seize their liberty only through barbaric subjugation of their former colonizers. Self-determination for all groups, impossible. This zero-sum thinking fashioned the prehistory of great replacement theory.

On September 18, 1858, during one of the famed "Lincoln-Douglas debates" as he (unsuccessfully) campaigned for a U.S. Senate seat for Illinois, Abraham Lincoln expressed his opposition to making Black people voters, jurors, office holders, or citizens. "While they [the races] do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior," he said, "and I as much as any

other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

Decades earlier, Thomas Jefferson had opposed abolitionist efforts in the United States toward incorporating "the blacks into the state" as free people. "Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions, which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race," Jefferson wrote in *Notes on the State of Virginia* in the early 1780s.

And then there's Jefferson's contemporary John Taylor, eventually the largest enslaver in Virginia's Caroline County, near Richmond. Taylor helped draft the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 as a professed protector of White people (when the act really protected him against his investments in embodied capital running away). "If the whites should be the victims of this enthusiastic philanthropy, and our northern brethren should succeed in overwhelming the southern states with negro patriotism and civilization, what will they have done for the benefit of the liberty, virtue or happiness of mankind?" Taylor asked in 1810, referring to Northern abolitionist policy. "A policy, which weakens or renders incapable of self defence at least three fourths of the union, must also be excessively injurious to the remaining fourth, whose wealth and security must increase or diminish by increasing or diminishing the wealth and security of the larger portion." In Taylor's conception, enslaved Black people and non-enslaving White Southerners were zero-fourths of the nation.

—

Many Black abolitionists did not think in zero-sum terms. They recognized their enemy as White enslavers, not all White people. In

the seventeenth century in northeastern Brazil, a gigantic quilombo—a settlement of escaped slaves, or maroons—named Palmares did not incorporate just Black runaways and dispossessed Indigenous peoples, but White people. An enslaver-led army exterminated the multiracial Palmares in 1694 (not a zero-sum race war). While organizing a massive freedom revolt around Richmond, Virginia, in 1700, Gabriel Prosser expected "poor white people" to join their ranks. Prosser "intended also to spare all the poor white women who had no slaves," as well as White groups who were "friendly to liberty," namely the Quakers, Methodists, and French.

Enslaved rebels like Prosser waged battles against American enslavers, who initially feared these violent rebellions but increasingly also feared the growth of the enslaved Black population. When voters elected Abraham Lincoln president in 1860, he had pledged to not allow the spread of slavery into new territories. Some enslavers feared that, without the ability to expand, the enslaved Black population would soon overtake the free White population. A race war would be in the offing and White Southerners would be the victims of a genocide. The Black population already exceeded the White population in South Carolina and Mississippi, the first two states to secede from the Union.

After the Civil War abolished chattel slavery, President Andrew Johnson updated the more-freedom-for-Black-people-equals-less-freedom-for-White-people zero-sum story into the more-rights-for-Black-people-equals-fewer-rights-for-White-people zero-sum story. Johnson vetoed the first ever U.S. Civil Rights Act, which would have granted birthright citizenship to Black people, enumerated rights they had as citizens, and codified penalties for anyone depriving them of those rights. He framed this Civil Rights Act of 1866 as anti-White. Echoing Jefferson, he claimed its antiracist protections for Black people would "foment discord between the two races." Johnson classed Black Americans as eternal immigrants: "persons who are strangers to and unfamiliar with our institutions and our

laws." The 1866 act provided these Black "strangers" with protections that go "infinitely beyond any that the General Government has ever provided for the white race," Johnson wrote. "In fact, the distinction of race and color is by the bill made to operate in favor of the colored and against the white race."

In his Message to Congress on December 3, 1867, Johnson argued that reconstructing the former Confederate states and extending voting rights to Black men would not put the nation on a course toward antiracist democracy, but to "the inferior" obtaining "the ascendancy" over superior White people. This would create "such a tyranny as this continent has never yet witnessed," he added. "Of all the dangers which our nation has yet encountered, none are equal to those which must result from the success of the effort now making to Africanize the half of our country."

Johnson heralded the zero-sum mythology of the "Lost Cause." *Richmond Examiner* editor Edward A. Pollard coined the term in an 1866 book of the same name. He published a follow-up book, *The Lost Cause Regained,* in 1868, when White and Black people were building new Southern Reconstruction governments. Pollard cast these new multiracial governments with mostly White politicians as the "white population" being "driven into the fatal angle of Negro supremacy." He sounded the alarm of race war like Jefferson.

Johnson and Pollard produced what can be termed the *great replacement political equation.* It justified Jim Crow's rise, by the end of the nineteenth century, on the back of disenfranchised Black male voters and rationalized renewed attacks on antiracist democracy across the world. The great replacement political equation: more Black citizens = Black power = Black supremacy = White subjection = White genocide. Trade Black people for Muslims, and White people for Christians. Trade Black people for Latino people or Asian people or any peoples of color.

Believing this great replacement political equation has long fettered White people from supporting the political power of

peoples of color. The zero-sum story imposes White settler colonial *histories* onto the fictional *futures* of peoples of color. Just as White colonizers went around the world and settled and increased their population and gained power and established their supremacy and exploited peoples of color and engaged in genocides, great replacement theorists induce fury about a turning of the tables in the twenty-first century. They present peoples of color as coming and growing in numbers and amassing power and overtaking predominantly White nations. Renaud Camus literally termed the imaginary great replacement a "counter-colonization."

—

The great replacement political equation underlay the thesis of *The Prostrate State: South Carolina Under Negro Government,* published in 1874 by James Shepherd Pike. This former U.S. minister to the Netherlands had turned into an antislavery—though not antiracist—journalist. Pike narrated a tale of a "white community, that had gradually risen from small beginnings, till it grew into wealth, culture, and refinement," having been "reduced to" lying "prostrate in the dust, ruled over by this strange conglomerate, gathered from the ranks of its own servile population."

Pike appraised South Carolina's government as "the most ignorant democracy that mankind ever saw," perhaps because South Carolina ended up being the only state during the Reconstruction era that had a Black majority in its state legislature. But these Black lawmakers and their White allies who formed Reconstruction governments introduced the South's first state-funded public school systems. During the enslaving era, most White Southern children did not attend school. These multiracial governments opened public hospitals. During the enslaving era, the small number of doctors who practiced in the South maximized the investments of wealthy enslavers through keeping maltreated

enslaved people alive to extend their labor. Many White Southerners were unable to access or afford healthcare. After the Civil War, these multiracial governments introduced some states' first public facilities for orphans, first asylums for people with mental illnesses, first public defender policies—all of which benefited millions of poor and middle-income White Southerners. Typically, after the Civil War, the greater the Black political power in these states, the greater the investment in public resources for all Southerners, and the greater the benefit to all Southerners, the greater the benefit to White people too, since White Southerners were in the majority in most places, after all. And yet Pike framed Black power in South Carolina as "barbarism overwhelming civilization by physical force."

Pike's fiction vindicated what really came: the violent overthrow of the rising antiracist democracy in the 1870s. After "ten years of rank misrule, a saturnalia of official crime, of public plunder…the Anglo-Saxon of the South came into his own again," wrote Mississippi railroad owner E. H. Hinton, in defense of political violence in 1875. "By the shotgun policy? Yes…the end…fully justified the means adopted by Mississippi's whites."

Missouri Congressman John M. Glover used this zero-sum story to oppose what became the Civil Rights Act of 1875. If Black people cannot reach the "high planes" of White people, then Black people "must not expect a crime to be committed through a so-called civil rights bill, which would drag down" White people. "I would teach the colored race that civilization is not the result of a statute—a discriminating, leveling statute—but the result of ages of individual effort and sacrifice."

The same ruthless zero-sum logic justified South African apartheid. In 1948, South Africa's National Party formed a commission to provide, in the words of one scholar, "the first substantial exposition of the theory and practice of apartheid." P. O. Sauer, who led the commission, aimed to protect the White community from "any policy, philosophy, or attack which might

endanger or undermine its continued existence." Ruling White Afrikaners deemed antiracist democracy to be anti-White. "A political system of one man one vote means our destruction," said apartheid South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha in 1978. "We are not prepared" to share power with Black South Africans, "not now, not tomorrow and not in one hundred years."

Edward Blum, who had become wealthy in the 1980s as a stockbroker, engaged in a multidecade campaign to get the U.S. Supreme Court to strike down affirmative action. All along, fellow great replacement financiers bankrolled his campaign. Blum succeeded in 2023 with the 6-3 decision in *Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard,* which overturned affirmative action in universities. In concurring with the majority opinion, Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas figured, "It is not even theoretically possible to 'help' a certain racial group without causing harm to members of other racial groups." Blum said the same while hailing the court's decision. "There is no way to increase the percentage of Black and Latino students without decreasing the percentage of Asian American and white students. Racial classification is a zero-sum game."

And yet the racist admissions system that has privileged students from wealthy families—who are disproportionately White and Asian—has not privileged *all* White and Asian students *equally.* Admissions boosts for the children of donors, staff, and alumni privilege White students more than Asian students—and certainly privilege almost all super-wealthy White students over low- and middle-income White students. While Blum criticized these admissions boosts, he did not bring legal action against them. What legal crusaders choose to litigate reveals the true intent behind their actions. Blum accepts admissions privileges for *the minority of* White (and to a lesser extent Asian) students who come from advantaged milieux.

Keeping affirmative action—and creating equitable admissions criteria—would likely decrease the number of White and Asian students at highly selective colleges coming from super-rich families while *increasing* the percentage of *low-* and *middle-income* White and Asian students, even as the overall percentage of White and Asian students decreases and the percentage of Black and Latino students increases. Equitable admissions criteria would seek to counteract the persistence of racism and classism by eliminating the classist advantages of high-income students of all races, by eliminating the racist advantages that White students have over their class peers of color. Through eliminating these racist and classist advantages, equitable admissions criteria would create equal opportunity for all students, whereby their potential—not their parents' pedigree or wealth—is what matters. Equitable admissions criteria would finally allow low- and middle-income students with potential—of any race—not to be boxed out by that super-rich White student whose parents, say, paid for a campus building.

Such equitable criteria could spill over into all aspects of life, from college admissions to getting hired at desired jobs. In other words, there is a third way beyond the zero-sum choices of White supremacy or White subjection: antiracist policy. But what Blum and his fellow crusaders have done—what great replacement theorists the world over have done—is to convince everyday White people to resist antiracist policy changes that actually help them by reducing the advantages of super-rich White people. Everyday White people are led to defend the interests of super-rich White people as if they are defending their own interests.

It is all distraction, like Le Pen's crusade against immigrants of color.

CHAPTER 10

Long Shadow

"**You're talking about** deporting" unauthorized immigrants, Anderson Cooper says.

"Expulsion," Marine Le Pen responds.

"There's a lot of fear among some immigrants about the idea of you becoming president," Cooper adds moments later.

"I think a lot of people are trying to scare them," Le Pen deflects. "But in reality, they have nothing to fear. Foreigners in France who hold a job, who respect our laws, our codes, have absolutely nothing to worry about."

"Many people are worried, though, because the Le Pen name carries a lot of baggage in France," Cooper says in a voiceover of footage depicting Le Pen's father. "Her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, is a political pugilist and provocateur who co-founded the National Front in the early seventies…. The party became a haven for racists and antisemites."

France has the largest Jewish community and probably the largest Black community in Europe. (French laws prohibiting collection of racial data make it difficult to determine precisely.) But *60 Minutes* does not accompany Marine Le Pen to sites in France that signify the brutality of antisemitism or anti-Black racism. Not Vichy. Not any of the Nazi concentration camps at Gurs, or Les Milles, or Rivesaltes, or Saint-Cyprien.

60 Minutes does not go with Le Pen to the street in Aulnay-sous-Bois, a suburb of Paris, where four police officers stopped and searched Théo Luhaka. They beat this twenty-two-year-old Black man for eight minutes. Spat on him. Pulled down his pants and raped him with a baton. The police left him disabled, with permanent anal injuries.

When Le Pen's interview airs in March 2017, French people are still talking about the ferocious police beating. It had just happened, barely a month earlier. Antiracist demonstrators had taken to the streets for more than ten days all over France. Le Pen urged the government to ban the demonstrations out of respect for the police. Later, in America, following the 2020 police murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Trump would order governments "to arrest people… track people…put them in jail for ten years." As if the antiracist demonstrators are the problem. As if the living and breathing police officers are the victims.

The *60 Minutes* crew does not film the devastation wrought from the politics of Le Pen's family. The segment films Le Pen as a victim.

"One night, when Marine was eight, a massive bomb was detonated just outside the family apartment," Cooper says. A picture of the bombed apartment building at 9 Villa Poirier appears. "Incredibly, no one was killed," Cooper continues. "She took us back to her old neighborhood and the site of the attack."

Viewers see Cooper and Le Pen walking down the street in the fifteenth arrondissement of Paris. "The building was torn apart," Le Pen says to Cooper, pointing up. "The back of the building was completely destroyed."

Viewers see a photograph of Le Pen as a little girl, smiling brightly. She is sitting next to her father on a couch as he reads a newspaper. Cooper's voiceover says: "Her father's bigotry cast a long shadow. At school, Le Pen says teachers who resented his politics took it out on her. She had to develop a thick skin at an early age."

No mention of the Black and Jewish and Muslim kids who must develop a thick skin at an early age in France in the twenty-first century. Because at school, some administrators and teachers and students who love Le Pen's neo-Nazi politics surely take it out on them. Her bigotry extends the shadow of her father's. Her orchestrated distancing from him ensures that no one knows where his shadow of bigotry ends and hers begins.

—

Le Pen lost the presidential election in 2017. She had more orchestrated distance to engineer. At the party congress in 2018, she proposed changing the party's name from Front National to Rassemblement National, or National Rally. This new name resembled the Rassemblement National Populaire (National Popular Rally), a French political party that allied with Nazis during the occupation of France in the 1940s. One of the Rassemblement National Populaire's earliest members would later go on to co-found the National Front with Jean-Marie Le Pen in the 1970s.

Party members approved Marine Le Pen's name change. Le Pen kept the flame as the party's logo. Did the flame—not the party name—best represent her father's creation, in the party, in her? Is her father's flame now burning as brightly as ever?

"Do you have any contact with him?" Cooper asks, referring to Le Pen Senior.

"No, no—no, I don't have any contact with him now," Le Pen responds. "We broke up. Broke up politically."

—

On Memorial Day in 1927, a thousand white-robed Klansmen marched through Queens, New York—my hometown—in defense of "native-born Protestant Americans." They were aggrieved by the purported replacers of their time and place: Catholics. More than

four million Irish Catholics had arrived in the United States by 1850. More than one million German Catholics came by the 1880s. Roughly four million Italian Catholics and one million French Canadian Catholics immigrated between 1880 and 1920. Two million Polish Catholics immigrated between 1870 and 1920.

A Catholic couple in France welcomed a baby boy in June 1928, a year after the march. They named him Jean-Marie Le Pen.

A riot broke out at that Klan march in Queens. Marchers were arrested. One of the men arrested by the police was Fred Trump, the father of Donald Trump.

These Klansmen, these eugenicists, these segregationists, these Nazis, these neo-Nazis of the twentieth century have commonly been described as racist provocateurs. But their children, the people leading their political parties in the twenty-first century, are commonly described by reporters in more anodyne terms—as a conservative, "a practiced politician," or "a straight-talking working mom and French everywoman, doing her best to make people forget her party's past," to use Cooper's description of Marine Le Pen.

Then again, Cooper complicates this description when he interviews political scientist Nonna Mayer, an expert on Le Pen's party. "Mayer says that while her father and his antisemitic rhetoric may be gone, the nationalist ideology of the National Front hasn't really changed," Cooper states.

"There have been cosmetic changes," Mayer tells Cooper.

"Cosmetic changes," Cooper echoes.

—

"When Donald Trump says 'Make America great again,' are you saying 'Make France great again'?" Cooper asks Le Pen.

"Yes, of course," Le Pen responds. "I've been saying that for many years. We are a great nation, which has a lot to offer to the

world. But to offer something to the world, France has to remain France." Or, as Renaud Camus put it: "We must continue to affirm more firmly our will to preserve our culture, of course our language, our way of living and our way of being, our religion or what remains of it, our landscape or what remains of it, our laws, our customs, our habits, our cuisine, and our liberties."

The prime minister of Hungary had been making a similar claim about his country. If the Le Pen dynasty powered the reemergence of great replacement politics in Western Europe, then Hungary's prime minister inspired its reemergence in Central Europe. With zero-sum stories. With another shackling idea.

LINK 2

Racial inequity data should be ignored.

↓

Inequity data should be ignored.

//

Viktor Orbán

Hungary

CHAPTER 11

Know Nothings

The host does not get permission from Fox News for his trip. He takes America's most-watched prime-time cable show on the road anyway, to a different country, for an entire week.

Tucker Carlson broadcasts his show from Central Europe, not far from where his maternal ancestors once lived.

Henry Miller, Carlson's great-great-great-grandfather, immigrated from Germany to the United States in 1847, the year after the Mexican-American War began. When the war ended in 1848, the United States had annexed from Mexico almost the entire southwestern region of its current landmass. By the end of the century, Miller had gobbled up 1.25 million acres, most of which were formerly Mexican lands. As owner of one of the nation's largest industrial enterprises and as California's largest producer of cattle, he became known as a "cattle king."

From another maternal branch, Carlson's Italian-speaking great-great-grandfather Cesar Lombardi immigrated to New York in 1860. The fifteen-year-old took a long train ride to join relatives in New Orleans. He enrolled in a Catholic school where "some of the boys disliked me because I was so different." Those boys "teased me about my pronunciation and made life miserable for a time," Lombardi recalled. At the time, Italian-speaking and Irish-speaking immigrants faced ferocious hostility from Anglo-Saxon Americans.

In the 1850s, these Anglo-Saxons formed the base of the Know Nothings. This political party originated as a secret organization, the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, before taking the name the American Party. (When pressed about specific plans—by journalists or authorities or just the curious—members of the Order of the Star Spangled Banner said, "I know nothing.") The Know Nothings pushed a great replacement theory that Catholic priests and bishops were influencing Catholic immigrants, like Cesar Lombardi, to assume control of the United States, to serve the interests of the pope, and to eliminate the civil and religious freedoms of Protestants. The Know Nothings mobilized Protestants to defend the United States from this supposed Catholic invasion.

The Know Nothing Party dissolved by 1860. But after the U.S. Civil War, the new Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist organizations recycled this anti-Catholic great replacement theory. Klansmen vandalized and burned Catholic homes and institutions. Between 1886 and 1910, mobs lynched more than twenty-nine White people of Italian descent in the United States, including eleven from Sicily in a single mass lynching in New Orleans in 1891.

Lombardi had already left New Orleans for Texas. He became a wealthy grain merchant, amateur political scientist, and newspaper publisher, namely of Galveston's *Daily News* and *The Dallas Morning News.* Lombardi's great-great-granddaughter Lisa Lombardi married journalist Dick Carlson. The Carlsons bore two boys, the first, Tucker, in 1969.

CHAPTER 12

Replace the Electorate

"**Good evening and** welcome to *Tucker Carlson Tonight,*" Carlson opens his show on August 5, 2021.

In the upper righthand corner, viewers see the location: Budapest, the capital and largest city of Hungary. They catch a glimpse of the historic downtown Square of the Franciscans. The roof of the Inner-City Church of the Franciscans, dating back a thousand years and used over the centuries alternately by Christians and Muslims, can be seen over Carlson's shoulder. The skies look cloudy, dark. The sun is low.

Carlson films his opening monologue from the upper floor of the Matild Palace hotel. In 1902, Princess Marie-Clotilde built this hotel to attract Western Europeans to Budapest. It became a crown jewel of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Central Europe is typically said to comprise many of the former nations (or parts thereof) of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, including Austria, Bosnia, Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. When a Serb assassinated the heir to the Habsburg throne in 1914, the monarch declared war on Serbia. The August week in 2021 when Carlson broadcast his show from Hungary happened to be the same week that, in 1914, Germany lined up behind the Austro-Hungarian Empire and declared war on the Allied Powers of

Russia, France, England, and soon the United States, which backed Serbia.

One soldier in Germany's army was born in 1889, in Braunau am Inn, Austria. Adolf Hitler spent half of his war time at his regimental headquarters in Fournes-en-Weppes, an area of northern France near the Belgian border.

Hitler felt humiliated when Germany surrendered on November 11, 1918. In addition to breaking up the German Empire, the victorious Allied Powers broke up the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A postwar peace treaty established the current borders of Hungary, a landlocked nation of nearly ten million people, bordered by seven other countries.

—

On August 2, 2021, the first episode that week from Budapest, Carlson presented an updated version of the Know Nothing conspiracy theory that made life miserable for his great-great-grandfather Cesar. "The whole point of [Democratic] immigration policy is to ensure political control," Carlson told his audience. "Replace the population. Get a different outcome." Weeks later, back in the United States, Carlson doubled down—turning the earlier theory into an even wider-ranging one with a now familiar name. "This policy is called the great replacement," Carlson says. "The replacement of legacy Americans with more obedient people from faraway countries."

Other Republicans expressed this conspiracy theory in 2021. In April, Pennsylvania Congressman Scott Perry worried about those who are "replacing…native-born Americans to permanently transform the political landscape of this very nation." That same month on Fox News, Wisconsin Senator Ron Johnson asserted that the Biden "administration wants complete open borders. And you have to ask yourself why? Is it really they want to remake the

demographics of America to ensure…that they stay in power forever?" In a June 2022 poll, roughly seven out of ten Republican respondents, four out of ten independent respondents, and one-third of Democratic respondents believed changing U.S. demographic makeup "has been motivated by progressive and liberal leaders actively trying to leverage political power by replacing more conservative white voters."

Noncitizens have been prohibited from voting in national elections in the United States for at least a century. In a 2016 survey of local election officials representing jurisdictions where 23.5 million votes were cast, the Brennan Center for Justice documented only thirty cases of suspected noncitizen voting.

—

This conspiracy theory has circulated for years and it has real-world effects. A twenty-one-year-old Texas man believed the United States "will soon become a one-party state" controlled by the Democrats. "They intend to use open borders, free healthcare for illegals, citizenship and more to enact a political coup by importing and then legalizing millions of new voters," Patrick Wood Crusius wrote in a manifesto. "The heavy Hispanic population in Texas will make us a Democrat stronghold." He disagreed with those who "think that the fight for America is already lost." He argued "the fight for America and Europe" is only beginning. "I am honored to head the fight to reclaim my country from destruction."

On the morning of August 3, 2019, Crusius sat in his car in the parking lot of a Walmart filled with Latinos in El Paso, Texas. He started a post on the imageboard 8chan. "Hello FBI," he wrote. He uploaded his manifesto. He grabbed his guns out of his trunk and started shooting people in the parking lot before moving into the store as people ran to hide.

Crusius murdered twenty-three people and injured twenty-two more in the deadliest attack on Latino Americans in recent American history. “This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas,” Crusius declared in his manifesto. “They are the instigators, not me. I am simply defending my country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by an invasion.”

CHAPTER 13

Cable "News"

"**Of the nearly** two hundred different countries on the face of the earth, precisely one of them has an elected leader who publicly identifies as a Western-style conservative," Tucker Carlson begins his monologue from Budapest on August 5, 2021. "His name is Viktor Orbán. He is the prime minister of Hungary."

Orbán had been the prime minister for eleven years. In 2010, as Hungarians reeled from the Great Recession, Orbán's Fidesz party ran on a trade agenda of "economic self-rule," a promise similar to Trump's America First agenda. Orbán blamed foreigners for the financial crisis—immigrants, bankers, speculators, the European Union—and voters handed his party a mammoth two-thirds parliamentary supermajority. Once he became prime minister, he secured his reign with great replacement theory. No one following the careers of Orbán and Carlson was surprised when Carlson named Orbán as his guest.

From the show's first airing in 2016 through 2021, *Tucker Carlson Tonight* promoted great replacement theory more than four hundred times, totaling more than fifty hours of prime-time propaganda on one of America's most-watched shows. Fox News became a primary spreader of great replacement theory in the United States. The network had been founded in 1996 by the Australian-born billionaire and media magnate Rupert Murdoch. By

2019, Fox News had taken over as the most-watched cable "news" network. The success of Fox News led to copycats in other nations where great replacement theory could spread.

In 2011, billionaire Pierre Karl Péladeau established Canada's Sun News Network (SNN), what critics named "Fox News North." It lost 46 million Canadian dollars in its short four-year history. The day after SNN closed in 2015, two of its hosts, Ezra Levant and Brian Lilley, announced Rebel Media, a new online outlet that promised to carry on SNN. But Lilley resigned in 2017 after the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. "Like many of you, I had family that fought the Nazis, I never want to be in the same room as one," Lilley wrote on Facebook upon resigning. Rebel Media incubated several great replacement theorists on its platform. People like Lauren Southern, whose breakdown of great replacement theory on her own YouTube channel in July 2017 attracted viewership in the hundreds of thousands.

As an online platform, Rebel Media followed Breitbart News Network more than Fox News. Steve Bannon took *Breitbart*'s helm as executive chairman in 2012 after its founder, Andrew Breitbart, died. Bannon ran Trump's presidential campaign in 2016. *Breitbart* released so many pieces warning of replacers that, as of August 2025, it used "Great Replacement" and "Great Replacement Theory" as tags for its articles.

In 2015, Brazil's wealthy Carvalho family, owners of the Jovem Pan radio station, started catering to the voters who would soon usher into the presidency the nation's most influential great replacement politician, Jair Bolsonaro. The bet paid off: their decades-old radio station soon topped the ratings charts as the most-listened-to radio network in Brazil. Bolsonaro's successful presidential election in 2018 and the prominence of Jovem Pan ran hand in hand. Bolsonaro's supporters flocked to his rallies with posters of Jovem Pan commentators, adorned with the phrase "the real press." In October 2021, Jovem Pan launched its own television

channel. By the 2022 presidential election, the new channel had eclipsed the ratings of CNN Brazil.

During an interview with Tucker Carlson in June 2022, Bolsonaro lamented the "very few media outlets that are really unbiased" and praised Jovem Pan as an example of "excellent" journalism. In 2023, Brazilian federal prosecutors brought a civil suit accusing the media outlet of contributing, "over time, to undermining the confidence of a large part of the population in Brazilian civic processes and in the very importance of preserving our democratic regime."

In France in 2017, billionaire Vincent Bolloré launched the TV channel CNews—or, in the useful shorthand of critics, the "French Rupert Murdoch" launched "the French Fox News." On October 31, 2021, Renaud Camus appeared on CNews to answer the question: "What is the great replacement?" He said it had nothing to do with race and everything to do with defending civilization. Experts connected the growing popularity of CNews to the growing popularity of Marine Le Pen.

As CNews boosted Le Pen, as Jovem Pan boosted Bolsonaro, as Fox News boosted Trump, Israel's Channel 14 boosted Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Israeli-Russian billionaire Yitzchak Mirilashvili created the Jewish "heritage channel" (originally on Channel 20) in 2014. In 2018, the Israeli legislature permitted an expansion of the channel's mission to broadcast "news" full-time and exempted the channel from paying licensing fees and from the prohibition of commercial television networks being 100 percent owned by a single person. Political observers viewed these moves as an attempt to increase Channel 14's popularity. It worked. By 2024, "Israel's Fox News" had become the country's second-most-watched channel.

Founded in 2017, Republic TV has been called "the Fox News of India." The co-founder of Republic TV, Arnab Goswami, has worked as the network's lead anchor. In 2020, the BBC dubbed him India's

"most loved and loathed TV anchor." He has aggressively defended Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (Indian People's Party). As Modi's administration marginalized India's Muslim population, Goswami portrayed Hindus as the ones being targeted for their identity. "In a country where 80 percent of the population is Hindu, it's become a crime to be Hindu," Goswami said on his prime-time show in April 2020. "I ask today that if a Muslim cleric or Catholic priest had been killed, would people be quiet?"

Goswami was commenting on an incident that occurred on April 16, 2020, in Gadchinchale, a village in western India. Two Hindu sadhus, or "godmen," were headed to a funeral north of the village, in Surat. Rumors and panic had spread that a gang of child kidnappers was operating in the area. When an official stopped the sadhus' car late at night, a group of Hindu villagers became suspicious, pulled the travelers from the car, and beat them to death. Videos captured the attack. Goswami's Republic TV ran segment after segment for nearly a week, lying to viewers that the travelers were killed because they were Hindu.

In the summer of 2023, billionaire Frank Gotthardt largely financed the launch of the online platform Nius (News) in Germany. Julian Reichelt, who managed the platform, developed his own show, seemingly using *Tucker Carlson Tonight* as the prototype. In a May 2024 audience survey, about two-thirds of the nearly 2,000 Nius respondents totally or somewhat believed that Europeans "are gradually being replaced by immigrants from Africa and the Middle East." A year before the founding of Nius, a belief in an American version of this theory fueled an eighteen-year-old White American to drive to Buffalo, New York.

CHAPTER 14

Buffalo

Payton S. Gendron pulled into the parking lot of Tops supermarket in Buffalo, New York, on May 14, 2022. Gendron had driven nearly four hours to arrive in this predominantly Black East Side neighborhood.

Gendron had recently graduated from high school in his majority-White hometown of Conklin, about two hundred miles away. He had once aspired to become a civil engineer like his parents, even enrolling in community college. But his exposure to great replacement theory online in 2020 transformed him into a great replacement soldier. He chose Buffalo for his war because it had the largest Black population of any city near his home in upstate New York. He chose the East Side because it had the highest percentage of Black people in Buffalo.

At around 2:30 P.M., Gendron left his car, ready for war. He wore body armor and a military helmet. He carried a black Bushmaster XM15 assault rifle. On his gun were inscriptions like "Here's your reparations, SYGAOWN" (an acronym for Stop Your Genocide Against Our White Nations), "Anders Breivik" and "2083" (a reference to the Norway shooter's manifesto), and "Jon Earnest" (whose first name is actually spelled John; convinced "every Jew" was planning a "genocide of the European race," Earnest shot four people, killing one, at a synagogue in Poway, California, on April 27,

2019. “Spics and niggers are useful puppets for the Jew in terms of replacing Whites,” Earnest wrote in his manifesto).

Gendron put on a head-mounted camera and started livestreaming on Twitch. “Just got to go for it,” he said.

He shot four people in the supermarket’s parking lot, murdering three. He walked into the store. Within minutes, he had fired at eight more people inside the store, killing six of them. An armed security guard, Aaron Salter Jr., retired from the Buffalo Police Department, fired his 9mm handgun at Gendron. The bullet failed to pierce Gendron’s armor. Gendron shot back, killing Salter. Gendron found someone hiding behind a checkout counter. He noticed that the person happened to be White. “Sorry!” Gendron said.

Jerome Bridges led his co-workers and employees to the break room. They barricaded the door with a massive desk. Other employees and customers fled to the milk cooler. Gendron saw them and shot at them through the coolers.

By 2:36 P.M., Buffalo police officers had talked Gendron down from shooting himself. They arrested him, ending the massacre. A judge sent him to prison for the rest of his life.

In total, Gendron shot thirteen people—eleven Black, two White—killing ten of the Black victims. They included eighty-six-year-old Ruth Whitfield, seventy-seven-year-old Pearl Young, seventy-two-year-old Katherine Massey, sixty-seven-year-old Heyward Patterson, and sixty-five-year-old Celestine Chaney. In Utøya, the young had been targets. In Buffalo, the elderly—and in El Paso too: eighty-six-year-old Angie Englisbee, seventy-seven-year-old Maria Flores, eighty-three-year-old Raul Flores, ninety-year-old Luis Alfonzo Juarez, eighty-two-year-old Teresa Sanchez, seventy-seven-year-old Juan Velazquez, sixty-eight-year-old Adolfo Cerros Hernández, sixty-six-year-old Sarah Ester Regaldo Moriel, sixty-six-year-old Alexander Gerhard Hoffman—the list goes on.

In each case, the killer posted a manifesto.

—

Gendron posted his 180-page manifesto on Google Docs, on May 12, 2022, two days before his terror attack. "We must crush immigration and deport those invaders already living on our soil," Gendron wrote. "It is not just a matter of our prosperity, but the very survival of our people."

He stipulated "that White birth rates must change." He called on White women "in the western world" to birth at least two children to reverse "this sub-replacement fertility rate."

—

Gendron's decrying the birth rates of White Americans previewed a policy blueprint prepared in advance of the second Trump administration. Project 2025 was published on April 21, 2023, a year after Gendron's massacre. It cost the Heritage Foundation $22 million to draft the document, to which more than 140 people contributed. Two-thirds of the contributors had worked in Trump's first administration, including Roger Severino, a son of Colombian immigrants. Severino directed the Office of Civil Rights in Trump's Department of Health and Human Services from 2017 to 2021, inhibiting women seeking abortion.

In Severino's retelling, Trump's first Health and Human Services Department served "'all Americans from conception to natural death,'" while "under President Biden" the department had "lost its way." Severino wrote: "U.S. life expectancy, instead of returning to normal after the COVID-19 pandemic, continued to drop precipitously to levels not seen since 1996 with white populations alone losing 7 percent of their expected life span in just one year. Nothing less than America's long-term survival is at stake."

Project 2025 recommended the mass surveillance of women's pregnancies to dissuade women from abortions. In 2024, U.S.

Senator Katie Britt of Alabama used Mother's Day to propose a federal database that collected data on pregnant women, effectively surveilling them.

These plans in the United States resembled the Turkish government's GEBLIZ (the Turkish acronym for its pregnancy, newborn, and postpartum monitoring system). Since it came online in 2008, all pregnant Turkish women who use maternity services have had their pregnancies surveilled by the government. Fears of declining birth rates and an aging population prompted the administration of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to roll back abortion services and encourage women to have more babies, explained Turkish essayist Kaya Genç in an essay titled "Erdoğan's Great Replacement Theory." Erdoğan, currently Turkey's president and previously, from 2003 to 2014, its prime minister, cast protectors of women's right to birth control and fewer children as facilitating the great replacement of Turks. "Those people want to root out Turks," said Erdoğan in Uşak on International Women's Day in 2008. He urged women in attendance, "Have at least three children, so our young population doesn't decrease."

Erdoğan was worried that Turkey's Kurds, who live primarily in the country's eastern part, would replace the Turks. As early as 1996, Turkey's National Security Council forecast that the Kurdish population would become the majority population by 2025. In fact, Kurds comprised no more than 20 percent of Turkey's population in 2025, and the death rates of infants in the Kurdish eastern regions were the highest in Turkey. Even still, when the wife of an MP from his party told Erdoğan that she had only one child, he responded, "This is unacceptable…. We must up the numbers. Children are crucial. Kurdistan Workers' Party members have five, ten, fifteen kids." Xi Jinping's administration has likewise urged China's Han majority to have more kids, while conducting pregnancy checks and forcing intrauterine devices, sterilizations, and abortions on

hundreds of thousands of Muslim women from China's ethnic minorities, including Uyghurs and Kazakhs.

—

Gendron, the Buffalo shooter, maintained that "this crisis of mass immigration and sub-replacement fertility is an assault on the European people that, if not combated, will ultimately result in the complete racial and cultural replacement of the European people." He wanted readers to believe, "This is WHITE GENOCIDE."

Gendron listed several people who inspired his terrorist attack, including Norway's Anders Breivik. But unlike Breivik, Gendron identified as a neo-Nazi, a fascist, a White supremacist, a racist, an antisemite. He wished "all JEWS to HELL!" He thought "non-white Hispanics are also replacers in the United States." He described democracy as "mob rule and the mob itself is ruled by our enemies."

To Gendron, the "invaders" and the "replacers" include all peoples of color and Jews in the predominantly White countries in the Americas, Europe, and Oceania, whether they arrived four years ago, four decades ago, or four centuries ago. He targeted Black Americans because they "are an obvious, visible, and large group of replacers," he explained. He hoped his massacre showed "the replacers that as long as the White man lives, our land will never be theirs and they will never be safe from us."

Gendron acknowledged that the land "technically belongs to its native people." But "the United States now belongs to Whites because removing Whites from all of the United States is impossible." And "the same thing applies with other White countries that are not in Europe." He never imagined that the mass removal of more than sixty million Latino Americans, nearly fifty million Black Americans, and roughly twenty-four million Asian Americans was next to impossible too.

—

In the days after the Buffalo massacre, many journalists compared Tucker Carlson's rhetoric to Payton Gendron's manifesto. Carlson responded by orchestrating distance, especially on Gendron's point that immigrants have been "invited by the state and corporate entities to replace the White people."

"You've heard a lot about the great replacement theory—it's everywhere in the last two days, and we're still not sure exactly what it is," Carlson told his viewers on May 17, 2022, three days after the massacre. After saying he did not know what great replacement theory was, Carlson then expressed great replacement theory. "Here's what we do know for a fact: there is a strong political component to the Democratic Party's immigration policy." Carlson played clips of Democratic politicians saying the White percentage of the population will decrease, and peoples of color will gain more electoral power. "The great replacement theory is coming from the left," Carlson said. "They don't think it's a theory, they think it's real."

Two months later, Carlson ended his orchestrated distancing. He said on his show: "The great replacement? Yeah, it's not a conspiracy theory. It's their electoral strategy." No wonder Andrew Anglin, the founder of the Nazi website *The Daily Stormer*—a site that radicalized the Buffalo shooter—had already classed Carlson as "literally our greatest ally" on the website on December 18, 2016. *The Daily Stormer* displays a "Demographic Countdown" on its home page showing the percentage of White people in the United States and the world so as to highlight perceived racial decline. And Anglin has raged at White women who have the audacity to make decisions about their bodies: "These wombs belong to us, not the idiot creatures that they are attached to. They were given to us by God to reproduce ourselves within. The dumb animals they are attached to were supposed to serve us, but they have gotten out of

control. We always need to be looking for new ways to get these stupid animals to give us back the wombs they have stolen from us."

CHAPTER 15

Nothing Known

Great replacement theorists have constructed a world where one group of people are being killed off—economically, culturally, and literally—and replaced by another group. In the United States, the theory posits that White Americans occupy the group being killed off, even as White Americans are living longer than Black and Native Americans. Even as Black Americans are the victims of a quarter of all hate crimes in the U.S. while comprising only about 14 percent of its population; in contrast, White Americans comprise nearly 60 percent of the U.S. population but represent only 7 percent of the victims of hate crimes. Great replacement theorists say that White kids are being harmed in schools at a time when majority-White schools are still the best funded, White-authored literature still dominates curricula, and White students are far less likely than Black, Native, Latino, or Pacific Islander students to be suspended.

In the Netherlands, approximately half of White students are placed in secondary vocational tracks, compared to three-quarters of Moroccan and Turkish students and over two-thirds of Surinamese and Antillean students. Across Latin America, light-skinned people have on average one to one and a half more years of schooling than dark-skinned people. In Argentina, about three-fourths of White

mothers attend at least high school, compared to half of Indigenous mothers.

Great replacement theorists have asserted that peoples of color are taking away the jobs and livelihoods of White people. Even as White Britons are more likely to be employed than Black and Asian Britons. Even as Surinamese and Antilleans in the Netherlands are twice as likely—and Turks and Moroccans nearly four times more likely—to be unemployed than White people with similar educational qualifications. In Uruguay, 26 percent of White and biracial people live in the poorest socioeconomic category, compared to 67 percent of Black people. In Brazil, 15.4 percent of White people earn less than $5.50 a day, compared to nearly one-third of Black or biracial Brazilians. In New Zealand, the median net worth of White people is about three and a half times higher than the median net worth of Asian New Zealanders, five times higher than Indigenous New Zealanders, and nearly ten times higher than Pacific Islander New Zealanders. White Americans have the lowest poverty rate of any racial group and the highest median family wealth. The U.S. racial wealth gap has barely budged over the last three decades, even as great replacement theorists push the zero-sum story that White livelihoods are declining because the livelihoods of peoples of color are improving.

When compared to peoples of color, White people are living longer and they are richer. And yet, *when compared to White elites,* the salaries and life expectancy of everyday White people have been declining. One study found that between 1990 and 2010—the critical years when great replacement theory reemerged—the average life expectancy at age twenty-five of White American men with fewer than twelve years of education fell by 0.6 years, while the average life expectancy of White women in the same situation fell 3.1 years. At the same time, the average life expectancy among White men and women with twelve or more years of schooling rose. Four studies published during this period found falling life

expectancy rates among White people with less than twelve years of education and rising life expectancy rates among their better-educated White peers. As of late 2020, the top 1 percent owned more wealth than the entire middle class, who make up about half of the population—a stark picture of the growing inequality between the White super-rich and the White middle class.

All this is to say, some White people have been losing their livelihoods not as peoples of color rise, but as super-wealthy White people rise. Racial inequity data discredits the zero-sum fantasy that White people are losing out as peoples of color gain. As such, making believers in great replacement theory requires a *second link* in the chain of ideas: ignoring racial inequity data.

—

When White people ignore the data showing that Black, Brown, and Indigenous peoples are struggling more, on average, than White people, it is easier for them to believe they are the ones struggling due to their race. Ignoring the economic challenges that Black, Brown, and Indigenous peoples face makes it easier for White people to think Black, Brown, and Indigenous peoples are receiving preferential treatment. Ignoring the data showing that Black, Brown, and Indigenous peoples have less opportunity in society than White people makes it easier for White people to believe they've missed out on opportunities because society is anti-White. Ignoring the data showing that White people live longer than Black and Native peoples makes it more straightforward to claim that White people are facing a genocide.

Renaud Camus spent several pages in *You Will Not Replace Us!* attacking the veracity of scientific data. "The simultaneous collapse of the religious and literary conceptions of the world have left society under the wrong impression that science was the ultimate judge of truth, rather than truth being the ultimate judge of

science," Camus wrote. So what happens when Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens in 1861 proclaims "the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition"? This "great truth" can judge and dismiss science that proves otherwise.

In Project 2025, lawyer Jonathan Berry recommended that the next Republican president "eliminate EEO-1 data collection. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission collects EEO-1 data on employment statistics based on race/ethnicity." Berry was subsequently nominated by Trump and confirmed by the Senate to serve as solicitor in the Department of Labor, where he could enact his own recommendation: a data elimination that would make the United States more like Hungary.

CHAPTER 16

One of Them

"**What does Viktor** Orbán believe?" Tucker Carlson continues his opening monologue.

What Carlson does not say: Orbán believes great replacement theory. "Hungarians are an endangered species," Orbán proclaimed during a radio interview in March 2018. "I think there are many people who would like to see the end of Christian Europe, and they believe that if they replace its cultural subsoil…this will make the continent a better place. We utterly reject this."

Maybe Renaud Camus heard about this radio interview. Because the next month Camus praised Orbán for confronting "the destruction of Europeans."

The day before Carlson's orchestrated distancing from the Buffalo shooter, May 16, 2022, Orbán warned Hungarians about "the great European population replacement programme." Hungary swore Orbán in for another term as prime minister. He is now the longest-tenured prime minister in his country's history.

—

Orbán's first victory in 2010, along with Marine Le Pen's takeover and expansion of her father's party the next year, augured the ascension of great replacement parties across Europe.

On January 27, 2012, the Slovenian parliament elected Janez Janša of the Slovenska Demokratska Stranka (Slovenian Democratic Party) for his second of three stints as prime minister. Upon his reelection, Janša said the "foundations" of "European civilization" are being "threatened" right now "and need to be defended." During his third stint, which began in 2020, *The Washington Post* reported that Janša's government had been "widely criticized for democratic backsliding. It curtailed press freedoms, interfered in judicial affairs, and eroded civil liberties. Critics have called his leadership the Orbanization of Slovenian politics."

In 2012, the Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond, or the Conservative People's Party of Estonia, was founded to defend "the nation-state, its culture and language." In Israel, Otzma Yehudit, or Jewish Power, materialized the same year. Jewish Power has been the most fanatical of Israel's great replacement parties, opposing marriages between Jews and Arabs; calling for the removal of Palestinians from Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza; and stoking anti-Palestinian violence. An influential Jerusalem rabbi likened the party to Nazis.

In 2013, a few Germans created Alternative für Deutschland (the Alternative for Germany, or AfD); some Spanish citizens established Vox (Voice), while Álvaro Uribe, Colombia's former president, founded the misleadingly named Centro Democrático (Democratic Center). The next year, when Democratic Center vied for its first election in Colombia, it secured 11.57 percent of the vote for the Chamber of Representatives, the fifth-largest share of the nine participating political parties; the new party tied for the second-most votes in the Senate elections.

The year 2014 proved a banner one for once-fringe great replacement parties. The Sweden Democrats amassed forty-nine seats in parliamentary elections. Latvia's National Alliance secured seventeen seats, the most in its history. Running on "border controls," the Dansk Folkeparti (the Danish People's Party) had its

best-ever performance in the European Parliament elections, obtaining the largest share of Denmark's vote. Kostadin Kostadinov founded Bulgaria's great replacement party Vazrazhdane, or Revival. Kostadinov has said Roma people are "non-human vermin that has no place in Bulgaria."

On May 26, 2014, Narendra Modi, a Hindu who has dehumanized India's Muslims in a similar fashion, inaugurated his tenure as prime minister. Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party—the world's largest political party—received more than 170 million votes and accumulated 282 seats in India's legislature. The term "India First" appeared several times in the BJP's manifesto in 2014.

From 2001 to 2014, before becoming prime minister, Modi was chief minister of Gujarat, a state along the western coast of India. In 2002, fifty-nine Hindus perished in a train fire near the town of Godhra. Hindu nationalists blamed the state's Muslims and rioted in response. They massacred more than a thousand people, mostly Muslims (and some Hindus), as Modi stood idly by.

Before assuming any official duties in India, Modi had been a longtime Hindutva activist. The term *Hindutva,* which originated in the writings of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in the 1920s, means "Hindu-ness." Hindutva activists and politicians have advocated for India to become a Hindu ethnostate to protect against their own purported replacement, mainly by India's minority Muslim population. In 2020, Hindus comprised 79 percent of India's population, at 1.1 billion people, compared to Muslims, who, at 213 million, represented 15 percent (a percentage similar to that of Black Americans). Those figures were far higher than the percentage of Muslims in Europe, which is about 6 percent. Or the percentage of Muslims in Hungary, which is less than 1 percent. Yet these people are the replacers?

CHAPTER 17

Electoral Dictator

"**For saying these** things out loud, Orbán has been vilified," Carlson says. "Left-wing NGOs have denounced him as a fascist, a destroyer of democracy."

Some Fox News executives denounced Viktor Orbán too. That's why they refused to authorize Carlson's trip to Budapest. That's why Carlson's decision to go anyway may have been the "tipping point" that led to his being fired from Fox News two years later, in 2023.

"We've read many times how repressive Hungary is," Carlson continues his opening monologue. "That's not just wrong, it's insane."

—

After his Fidesz party took over Hungary's government in 2010, Orbán changed Hungary's constitution. Lawmakers gave his ruling party the ability to expand the size of the high court and pack it with pro-Fidesz judges, while curtailing judicial review. Fidesz lawmakers halved the size of Hungary's parliament. The Fidesz-led redistricting process gerrymandered all of Hungary, concentrating opposition voters into large districts and spreading out Orbán's supporters into small districts.

Next, Fidesz enabled "voter tourism," which allowed non-citizens from other countries to cross the border on Election Day, vote, and return home. In 2014, the mayor's office in the small northeastern town of Kispalád, bordering Ukraine, summoned a woman named Jozsefne Sanko. The mayor, a Fidesz member, had been running a close reelection race. The mayor likely knew that Sanko, a seasonal cucumber picker, would soon be looking for a job. The mayor asked Sanko to sign some documents in exchange for public jobs for her and her family. She signed documents that confirmed 135 Ukrainians lived in her minuscule home. Those Ukrainians were now eligible to register to vote in Hungarian elections, including for the mayor.

Word got out. Sanko and the mayor were fined in 2020. Orbán *legalized* the scheme: the address taking, the voter tourism. Sanko's son Adam described a scheme whereby people from other countries would cross the border into Hungary with lists of candidates they were supposed to vote for, then return home. The conspiracy Carlson falsely ascribed to Democrats in the U.S. had not been a theory in Hungary at all, with Orbán's party literally importing voters.

No independent researcher has been able to assess how much Orbán's voter tourism has swung elections, because the government has not made voter data public.

And then there's the media. Orbán's government fired more than 1,600 journalists from the state broadcaster, cut government advertising to media outlets that were not pro-Fidesz, and threatened to end government contracts with companies who advertised at these media outlets out of Orbán's control. In 2011, Fidesz lawmakers established a five-member Media Council to levy fines on media outlets for "unbalanced" coverage, meaning whatever was not Fidesz propaganda. Hit with fines and starved for advertising revenue, private media outlets failed or struggled to survive. Orbán's allies purchased many of these outlets and turned

them into pro-Orbán mouthpieces. Decades earlier, officials in Nazi Germany exerted similar control over the media, leading to the massive loss of journalism jobs and the shuttering of newspapers.

With Hungarian media almost totally in Fidesz's hands, financially starved opposition parties turned to billboards to get their messages out. Fidesz lawmakers then passed a law that fined billboard owners for providing discounts to political parties. "Rather than jailing journalists, engaging in blatant censorship, or simply shuttering hostile media, Orbán let economic pressure do the work," sociologist Kim Lane Scheppele explained.

What Orbán and others like him have done "is less dramatic but equally destructive," to use the words of political scientists Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt. "Democracies may die at the hands not of generals but of elected leaders."

—

Orbán established what I call an *electoral dictatorship.* In conventional dictatorships, dictators do not hold elections, political violence is constant, and opposition parties and independent media are banned. In electoral dictatorships, dictators do try to amass a base of support and then rig elections enough, suppress the opposition enough, inflict enough violence, dominate the judiciary enough, and control the media enough to all but guarantee their continuous reelections. Electoral dictatorships are the most sophisticated form of political domination. They are dictatorships masquerading as democracies.

Electoral dictatorships differ in the degree and nature of their political support; in the degree of control they wield over the elections, the opposition, the judiciary, and the media; and in the tactics they use to suppress opposition parties, candidates, the judiciary, and the media. For suppression, some electoral dictators use targeted political violence—jailings, torture, assassination.

Others use Orbán's primary weapon: economic coercion. Electoral dictators normally control the highest executive office (president or prime minister), the legislature, the courts, the military, and the media—what Orbán controls in Hungary. Which you wouldn't know from Carlson's opening monologue.

CHAPTER 18

Who Is Freer?

Tucker Carlson accuses then-President Joe Biden and his allies of silencing, suppressing, and putting at risk those who have opposing views. "But it is unknown in Hungary," Carlson says in his opening monologue. "Opposition figures here don't worry that they will be hurt for their opinions.

"So who is freer?" Carlson asks his audience.

In Hungary, it is not just opposition figures who are not free. Roma people are segregated in schools, prohibited from subleases, barred from evening entertainment venues. They are disproportionately impoverished. Orbán's administration has not freed Roma people from this long-standing oppression.

The freedom of racial and ethnic groups is best measured through racial and ethnic data. But Hungary does not collect racial data, just as it does not make voter data available. No racial data collection, no way to prove freedom from racial inequity and injustice. In 2021, thirty of the thirty-eight member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) did not collect racial data, even as the United Nations has called for its collection. Among the thirty OECD countries not collecting racial data, only ten collect ethnic data.

Many of the OECD countries not collecting racial or ethnic data are in Europe. In the aftermath of the Nazi Holocaust, many

European nations connected racial data collection with Nazism and banned it. In an attempt to rid their nations of Nazism, Europeans banned the best mechanism to identify and thereby rid their nations of neo-Nazism.

Nazi theorists, heavily inspired by American eugenicists, constructed race as a biological phenomenon. Eugenics was one of the first great replacement theories, a movement driven by the fear that "inferior races" were biologically replacing the "superior races." This great replacement theory justified policies and practices that stimulated the reproduction and protection of the "superior" racial and ethnic groups and the mass sterilizing and extermination of the "inferior" racial and ethnic groups.

Among Nazi collaborators in Hungary, the supposedly "inferior" groups were Jewish and Roma people, the latter slurred as "Gypsies." Henrik Werth, a Hungarian army leader, put forth that "the prevention of the infiltration of non-desirable elements (Jews, Gypsies) should be finally regulated." When Hungarian officials collected data on the Jewish and Roma populations in the early 1940s, Nazi officials and their Hungarian collaborators used the data to kidnap and deport these people to concentration camps, into forced labor, or worse.

—

Race is not a biological fact, as Nazis maintained. The genetic makeup of individuals who identify as White, Latino, Black, Asian, or any other racial category is 99.9 percent the same. Populations in West Africa are more genetically similar to populations in Western Europe than they are to populations in East Africa and Southern Africa.

Race *is* a power construct. Powerful people have constructed and reconstructed *racism* and in turn constructed and reconstructed race. Antisemitic theorists have long constructed Jews as a race. By

the eighteenth century, powerful people in the Western Hemisphere had constructed four additional races: Black Africans, White Europeans, Yellow Asians, and Red Native Americans. By the early twenty-first century, two more additional races had been constructed: Latinos, and Middle Easterners and North Africans (MENA).

In addition to races, there are ethnicities or ethnic groups in each nation. Each ethnicity (which can be a transnational or national grouping) is racialized. In the United States, Chinese Americans and Korean Americans are ethnicities, racialized as Asian. German Americans and Irish Americans are ethnicities, racialized as White. Iranian Americans and Palestinian Americans are ethnicities, racialized as MENA. Nigerian Americans and African Americans are ethnicities, racialized as Black. Mexican Americans and Puerto Rican Americans are ethnicities, racialized as Latino. Cherokee Americans and Lakota Americans are ethnicities, racialized as Native.

Each ethnic group in each nation practices its own ever-changing culture. To be racist is to attribute racial inequity to cultural difference, and to erroneously conflate culture with behavior. Culture includes practices like language, religion, attire, and food; behavior involves attributes like work ethic or intelligence or aggression. Whereas culture is what *ethnic groups* do, behavior is what *human beings* do. There are human beings of all races who behave in particular ways—working hard, being violent—even as they practice different cultures. Just as there is no such thing as racial biology, there is no such thing as racial behavior.

Race is real to the extent a mirage is real. People can act as if the illusion is real. A belief in the false ideas about race manifests in *real* actions, even if the biology and behavior people affix to skin colors and hair textures and facial features is a mirage. It is really the case that people are privileged or disadvantaged, praised or

denigrated, included or excluded, living or dying because of racist policies and ideas in nearly every country on earth.

Collecting racial data must be predicated on the fact that race is not real, but racism is. People can identify by race, and governments can collect racial data, all with the acknowledgment that race is not real in biological terms, while still recognizing that racism *is* real and requires data to understand and combat it.

But can't data be used in the dangerous ways that Nazis used it, just as those postwar European governments feared? Yes. Renaud Camus and Marine Le Pen have demanded "the real immigration figures," to use Le Pen's words. With racial and ethnic data, the likes of Camus and Le Pen could more precisely, empirically identify, track, and remove their targets: Brown and Black peoples. As a powerful diagnostic tool, racial and ethnic data collection can be used either to heal or to harm. The solution is not to ban the diagnostic tool. The solution is to ensure it is used to heal, while limiting its ability to harm.

However, when the diagnostic tool is forbidden—the way Hungary has banned racial data collection—the harm of racism persists. The harm of racism can be largely unidentifiable at the population level at the same time Orbán claims his government has "zero tolerance" for racism. It's like saying a government has "zero tolerance" for breast cancer while banning regular mammogram screenings—and when large numbers of women discover lumps on their breasts through self-exams, the government continues to ban regular mammogram screenings.

Black people in Hungary have routinely reported experiencing the lumps of racism. Being turned away from restaurants. Difficulty with neighbors. Trouble securing employment. "There is a huge prejudice against Black individuals," said Ildikó Barna, a sociologist at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. International students from Africa report being spit upon, called racist slurs, and subjected to strangers making monkey sounds in their presence. "It happens

every week, at least," Maveens Okwudiri Okwunwa, a Nigerian communications student, said in an interview in Budapest. As Okwunwa spoke, a man shouted at him, "Ape! Ape!"

In France, *nine* out of ten Black people said in a recent survey that they have faced racism. French President Emmanuel Macron has opposed racial data collection while supporting "concrete actions" to combat racism. Pursuing "concrete actions" to cure a body politic of racism *without* racial data is like an oncologist developing a treatment plan for a metastatic breast cancer patient without knowing the location, size, and makeup of the tumor(s). Those "concrete actions" are bound to fail. And racism is bound to spread.

Without collecting racial data, authorities must rely on the testimonies of individual victims. But when victims do manage to speak up, racist authorities can dismiss their individual stories as anecdotal, if they bother to listen at all. At the same time, great replacement theorists claim that one White individual's negative experience *is* representative of what's happening to White people as a group. Trump can declare on national television that White Americans are the primary victims of racism.

CHAPTER 19

A Setup

On July 14, 2020, Catherine Herridge interviewed President Trump on CBS. The interview aired seven weeks after Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin pressed his knee on George Floyd's neck for more than nine minutes.

"Let's talk about George Floyd," Herridge said. "You said George Floyd's death was a terrible thing."

"Terrible," Trump interjected, sweating, devoid of emotion.

"Why are African Americans still dying at the hands of law enforcement in this country?" Herridge asked.

"And so are White people. So are White people," Trump responded. "What a terrible question to ask. So are White people. More White people, by the way. More White people."

A frowning Trump did not look at Herridge. He looked to the side. He looked down. Herridge clarified for viewers: "Research suggests that Black people are about three times more likely to be killed by police than White people."

But does Trump really care about police violence toward White people?

—

A month before Trump's interview with Herridge, a battalion of body-armored and helmeted police officers, clutching batons, advanced toward Niagara Square in Buffalo, New York. Their orders: end an antiracist demonstration. Niagara Square happened to be a ten-minute drive from the East Side supermarket where a great replacement soldier would open fire on Black shoppers two years later.

Martin Gugino, a White seventy-five-year-old, had retired from his job as a computer technician but not from his peace activism. He approached officers Robert McCabe and Aaron Torgalski as they walked toward the square.

"Push him back! Push him back!" some officers yelled.

McCabe and Torgalski pushed Gugino back. The elderly man stumbled backward a few steps and fell. His head slammed on the pavement. Gugino lay there motionless, blood coming from his head.

Gugino suffered a fractured skull, a concussion, and lacerations. He survived but could not walk for two weeks. He remained hospitalized for nearly four weeks.

Initially, the Buffalo Police Department announced that "during [a] skirmish involving protestors, one person was injured when he tripped & fell." The falsehood resembled the initial press release from the Minneapolis Police about what happened to George Floyd. Its headline: "Man Dies After Medical Incident During Police Interaction."

Video of the Buffalo police shove went viral. The two officers were suspended. The Buffalo police union president said Gugino "did slip" on his own. The very same defense Derek Chauvin's lawyers used: Floyd died on his own.

Over the next few days, outrage spread. But great replacement politicians—who present themselves as the defenders of White people—had to explain away this unjust police attack on an elderly White man.

On June 9, 2020, Trump tweeted: "75 year old Martin Gugino was pushed away after appearing to scan police communications in order to black out the equipment…I watched, he fell harder than was pushed. Was aiming scanner. Could be a set up?"

Great replacement politicians have made White people the primary victims of injustice when they are not—but then ignore when White individuals *actually are* the victims of injustice, from Buffalo to Budapest. A great replacement theory is like an anesthetic. People being hurt don't realize who is hurting them, so they keep electing the politicians that are responsible, and they keep attacking the peoples hurting even more than them. This is what most Hungarians have been experiencing under Viktor Orbán.

CHAPTER 20

Political Crisis

"**With that, here** is Viktor Orbán," Tucker Carlson concludes his opening monologue. "His accent is pretty thick, but his English is precise."

The two men sit on opposite sides of a table.

"Mr. Prime Minister, thank you very much," Carlson says. "So, in 2015, hundreds of thousands of migrants appear on your southern border. They appear all over Europe…. Hungary stands alone in saying no.

"Why?" Carlson asks.

"That was the only reasonable behavior," Orbán replies. "You have to defend your people against any danger."

"And you think you have a right to do that?" Carlson asks, furrowing his brow.

"Of course," Orbán responds.

—

Carlson and Orbán were talking about the European migrant "crisis" of 2015. The circumstances that led to many of the migrations began five years earlier. On December 17, 2010, Mohamed Bouazizi, a young street vendor, had set himself on fire after officials confiscated his produce in Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia. His demonstration

set off an activist blaze throughout Tunisia, a North African nation governed by President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. In a matter of weeks, protesters had ousted Ben Ali from his electoral dictatorship. Weeks later, in Egypt, protesters ousted President Hosni Mubarak, that country's electoral dictator since 1981. With the help of NATO forces, rebels assassinated Muammar Gaddafi on October 20, 2011. He had ruled Libya since 1969. And this resistance happened all throughout North Africa and the Middle East during that Arab Spring of 2011 and 2012: strikes, demonstrations, marches, rallies, and violent rebellions against dictatorships, monarchies, corruption, violations of civil rights, nepotism—and against poverty, the high cost of living, and economic inequality.

By 2015, highly volatile and politically unstable power vacuums across the region were apparent. The Islamic State, or ISIS, rose in the smoke of political instability, conquering huge territories in eastern Syria and northwestern Iraq. The democratic uprising morphed into a bloody series of conflicts across the region between religious and secular authoritarianism that spread to East and West Africa. Boko Haram, a militant Muslim group, engaged in an insurgency against the Nigerian government, leading to war zones in northeast Nigeria. The Somali military and African Union peacekeeping troops fought al-Shabaab rebels, allies of al-Qaeda. Repressive governments cracked down, in the Gambia torturing and killing political dissenters, and in Eritrea binding people into forced labor.

Many people in the Middle East and Africa had no choice but to flee their homes to save their lives. Most migrants remained close to their home regions. Some headed to Europe. About three-fourths of the migrants who applied for asylum in the European Union in 2015 were men, mostly younger men. About half of those migrants were escaping civil wars in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan. They mostly arrived on boats, crossing the Mediterranean Sea from

Turkey into Greece, then made their way farther north into Europe. Countless migrants died en route.

In total, in 2015, about 1.3 million migrants requested asylum in the European Union, along with the nonmember states of Norway and Switzerland. Together, those thirty countries were home to about 520 million people, meaning the number of migrants requesting asylum amounted to less than 1 percent of the total population—hardly enough to replace anyone or anything.

It was the largest number of people requesting asylum in Europe since the EU started publishing data on asylum seekers in 1985. But when compared to the millions of ethnic Germans who fled Germany in the years after World War II, "this current wave is small," a Pew Research Center report found. The wave in 2015 ended up being much smaller than the roughly 6.9 million Ukrainian refugees who escaped their country after Russia's invasion in 2022. But the political environment for these mostly White refugees was radically different than what the mostly Brown and Black refugees encountered in 2015. These newcomers were entering a continent where great replacement politicians could see the recession waning and were searching for the next "crisis" to attract voters. Now they had one. Great replacement politicians made this migration, and every migration since then, into an "invasion"—into a *national security* crisis.

Here's how they turned the situation into political power. The more migrants came, the more great replacement theorists cast them as dangerous replacers. The more people saw migrants of color as dangerous replacers, the angrier people became. The angrier people became, the larger the captive audience for great replacement politicians. The larger the captive audience for great replacement politicians, the more those politicians pushed for border walls and rejecting migrants. The more those politicians pushed for border walls and rejecting migrants, the angrier people became at their governments for allowing migrants, for seemingly

ignoring these demands. The more governments accepted migrants and did not enact these demands, the more people threw their support behind up-and-coming great replacement parties.

And if the "national security" propaganda failed, then the "job-taking" propaganda did the trick, thus binding the Great Recession and the subsequent European debt crisis to the European migrant "crisis." The more migrants came, the more great replacement politicians cast them as taking jobs and government resources. The more people believed migrants of color were taking their jobs and government resources, the angrier people became. The angrier people became, the larger the captive audience for great replacement politicians. The larger the captive audience for great replacement politicians, the more those politicians campaigned on saving their jobs and government resources. The more people believed great replacement politicians would save their jobs and government resources, the more those politicians could cut government resources for everyday people and allow multinational corporations to export jobs to lower-wage communities and countries. The more people saw jobs and resources disappear, the more people blamed migrants.

Marine Le Pen traveled around France in the final months of 2015 pushing this conspiracy, echoing the slogan on one of the National Front's earliest posters, in 1978: "1 MILLION UNEMPLOYED IS 1 MILLION IMMIGRANTS TOO MANY!"

On June 14, 2015, Orbán's government launched a taxpayer-funded nationwide billboard campaign. The blue billboards screamed out in white text: "IF YOU COME TO HUNGARY, DON'T TAKE THE JOBS FROM HUNGARIANS!" Three days later, Orbán's administration announced plans for a thirteen-foot fence covered in razor wire stretching the 110-mile border between Hungary and Serbia, where most migrants were entering the country.

Orbán announced his great fence the day after Trump announced his campaign for U.S. president in 2015 with a pledge to

build “a great wall” along the U.S. border with Mexico. In September 2015, Orbán’s administration finished the border fence, sealed Hungary’s border with Serbia, criminalized unauthorized entry into Hungary, and rejected asylum applications from people who arrived at its border.

—

Among European countries, Sweden accepted the highest number of migrants per capita in 2015. The Sweden Democrats took full advantage. In the second half of the 1990s, this party had orchestrated distance from its fascist and Nazi roots. It condemned Nazism in 1999. And then it went on to push neo-Nazi great replacement theory about migrants of color replacing White Swedes. Their theory, in the midst of the increase in migrants, contributed to what political scientist Andreas Johansson Heinö has described as “one of the most significant polling shifts in Swedish history.” In 2009, a mere 9 percent of Swedes saw migration as their nation’s most important issue. In 2015, 53 percent of Swedes did. After winning 5.7 percent of the vote in the 2010 parliamentary elections, the Sweden Democrats more than tripled this vote total, to 17.53 percent, in the 2018 parliamentary elections.

Germany, with its population of 81.69 million, received 442,000 applications for asylum in 2015, the most in Europe. “Those arriving have been raised in another religion, and represent a radically different culture,” Orbán wrote in a German newspaper. “Is it not worrying in itself that European Christianity is now barely able to keep Europe Christian? There is no alternative, and we have no option but to defend our borders.”

Most people want to remain in their homeland, in peace and prosperity. Most peoples of color, like most White people, migrate in reaction to a political or economic crisis (and, increasingly, the effects of climate change). When people flee crises as refugees, the

international community should seek to ensure people can receive asylum in new nations, and work to end the crises within their home nations, so migrants can have the option to return to their homes.

Great replacement theorists commonly refuse to recognize those migrants of color who are fleeing a crisis and complain when their governments acknowledge this fact. Governments do not "call the invaders *invaders*—they call them *refugees,* or *migrants,*" Camus objected in *You Will Not Replace Us!*

Every person on earth is likely the descendant of someone forced to migrate to another land to save their life, to find a better life, to enrich the lives of others. Borders closed to refugees defy human history. Our ancestors migrated months ago, years ago, decades ago, centuries ago, millennia ago. Nations can establish, in law and practice, the migration of refugees as an essential human right based on our common history.

Orbán disagrees.

CHAPTER 21

Christian Land?

"**This is not** a human right to come here," Viktor Orbán tells Tucker Carlson on his show. "No way, because it's our land."

"Saying what you just said…was very offensive to a lot of countries in Western Europe, to their leaders," Carlson points out.

"Because many European countries decided to open a new chapter of their own history of the nation," Orbán responds. "They believe firmly that if different communities, even huge number of let's say Muslim communities, and the original inhabitant, let's say Christian communities, are mixed up, the outcome of this will be good."

Let's open the old chapters of history. The first Christians practiced in the first century in the Roman colony of Judea, or what is now Palestine and Israel. Christianity, in all its theological diversity, spread throughout the Roman Empire along some of the same Mediterranean routes Muslim migrants from the Middle East took to Europe in recent years. The new Christian religion gained a foothold in Europe when Roman Emperor Constantine issued an edict of toleration in the fourth century, known as the Edict of Milan —more than 43,000 years *after* Europe's original inhabitants arrived.

Muslims arrived in Europe *before* Magyar migrants arrived in the Carpathian Basin in the ninth century. These Magyar migrants,

ancestors of today's Hungarians, came from a place called Etelkötz, what's now southern Ukraine, Moldova, and northeast Romania. It was not until the tenth century that these Magyars began to convert to Christianity in large numbers.

After Islam was founded in the seventh century in present-day Saudi Arabia, it spread across the Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia, South Asia, and parts of Europe's Caucasus. Muslim political leaders gained control of the Iberian peninsula (Spain and Portugal) in the eighth century. Which means Muslims arrived and established a foothold in Europe four centuries after Christians did. Arriving four centuries later in a European history that spans nearly *five hundred* centuries is roughly equivalent, in the terms of a single human life, to Christians arriving in Europe about eight months before Muslims did, if the average lifespan is eighty years.

The Spanish Reconquista drove Muslim rulers out of the Iberian peninsula by 1492, forcing the remaining Muslims to convert to Christianity. At the same time, the new Muslim Ottoman Empire succeeded the old Christian Byzantine Empire, the child of the Roman Empire. The Ottomans further ushered Islam into most of southeastern Europe, where it remains a principal religion. These European nations, primarily in the Balkan peninsula, include the majority-Muslim nations of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Turkey, as well as nations where Muslims form a significant minority, such as Bulgaria, Montenegro, and North Macedonia.

Residents of these predominantly White nations were among the Muslim migrants who escaped political and economic strife in 2015. Kosovo had the fourth-largest number of migrants leaving its territory; Albania, the fifth largest. Migrants also came from Serbia, Russia, and Ukraine. Perhaps as many as 14 percent of the migrants can be identified as White.

The second-largest religion in Europe is Islam—and not because of immigrants who arrived in the twenty-first century. Christians and

Muslims overtook the native religions long practiced by Indigenous peoples in Europe. A Europe where Christian and Muslim communities "are mixed up," to use Orbán's words, represents an old chapter in the continent's religious history.

—

"We Hungarians decided not to take that risk, to mix up our society," Orbán says.

"So, it has been six years since Germany, since Angela Merkel made the decision to let many hundreds of thousands of migrants into her country," Carlson says after some dialogue.

"Millions," Orbán interrupts.

To cut in: Germany ultimately took in 1.1 million immigrants during that period, representing about 1 percent of its population.

"Millions. Non-German speakers, mostly Muslim," Carlson continues. "What have the effects been in Germany?"

"They took the risk and now they got what they have deserved," Orbán says.

Germany got people who strived to learn the language and become a part of their new nation. While roughly 1 percent had German language skills upon arrival around 2015, that tally increased to 44 percent by 2018. In 2020, Sekou Keita and Helen Dempster, at the Center for Global Development, found that "Merkel's decision to admit one million refugees in 2015 has had immense economic and social benefits for Germany." Migrants were especially useful in replenishing (not replacing) Germany's aging workforce at a time when employers were struggling to find workers. By 2019, nearly one-sixth of skilled workers were immigrants. These non-natives—as skilled workers, as innovators, as entrepreneurs, as consumers—helped stabilize Germany's economy, as one German economist put it. Stabilizing Germany's economy benefited Germany's White majority.

Great replacement theorists frame racial inclusion as harmful in order to conceal its benefits to White people. At the same time, great replacement theorists frame racial exclusion as beneficial in order to conceal its harm to peoples of color. And the harms of racial inequity and injustice have been concealed and ignored since the days of slavery and colonialism.

CHAPTER 22

Civilizing Duty

"I **appeal to facts,**" South Carolina enslaver John C. Calhoun said from his chair in the U.S. Senate on February 6, 1837. "Never before has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually." To Senator Calhoun, "instead of an evil," slavery is "a good—a positive good."

This "positive good" framing of racial injustice is as old as racism itself. Prince Henry of Portugal, the pioneer of the Atlantic human trade between Africa and Europe in the fifteenth century, wanted to be remembered as reflecting "with great pleasure upon the salvation of those souls" who were kidnapped from West Africa, as Gomes Eanes de Zurara, his royal biographer, wrote. In 1551, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda described the genocidal Spanish wars on Indigenous peoples in the Americas as being "for their own greatest good," so they "may submit to men who are good, civilized, and worshippers of the True Religion." In 1592, royal justice Francisco de Auncibay pleaded for the Spanish crown to purchase a thousand African people from Portuguese human traders for the mines of Ecuador. "Brought to a healthier land they should be very content," Auncibay wrote. Dutch theologian Godefridus Cornelisz Udemans authored *The Spiritual Helm of the Merchant's Vessel* in 1638,

casting the harrowing floating prison as carrying African people to Christ.

In 1877, British imperialist Cecil Rhodes wrote, "I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race." France's Prime Minister Jules Ferry, his contemporary, agreed. Along with German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, Ferry planned the agenda of the Berlin Conference of 1884, where European colonizers partitioned the lands of Africa. "I maintain that European nations acquit themselves with generosity, with grandeur, and with sincerity of this superior civilizing duty," Ferry proclaimed to the French Chamber of Deputies in a speech on French colonialism on March 28, 1884.

At the time, the U.S. too engaged in colonial expansion. After a century of genocidal colonial wars against Native nations in the nineteenth century, in the midst of a genocidal colonial war in the Philippines, President Theodore Roosevelt said in a 1900 speech in Michigan, "With us expansion means, as it always has meant, peace." On August 8, 1954, when British Prime Minister Winston Churchill wrote to U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, he framed colonialism as "bringing forward backward races and opening up the jungles."

The disregard for the brutal degradation of colonialization continued long after decolonization. Jean-Marie Le Pen claimed French colonization had had a "positive influence" on colonized peoples. In a 2017 essay, Bruce Gilley, a Canadian American political scientist in Oregon, encouraged White people to reaffirm "the civilising mission without scare quotes—that led to improvements in living conditions for most Third World peoples during most episodes of Western colonialism." And of course, Renaud Camus wrote that "the African colonisation of Europe is worse and more severe than the European colonisation of Africa."

—

American segregationists ignored the terror of Jim Crow as religiously as colonizers ignored the terror of colonization. On March 13, 1956, nineteen senators and seventy-seven representatives issued the "Southern Manifesto." In it, they complained that the U.S. Supreme Court's recent desegregation ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) "is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races."

When segregationists (and colonizers) could no longer frame their carnage and plunder as amicable, as good for peoples of color, they highlighted what had been inherent in the "positive good" and "civilizing mission" rhetoric all along. They ignored racial injustice and inequity. They stressed it was not the result of racist policies and practices. Segregationists justified racial inequity and injustice as byproducts of economic factors. "There have been many disparities; there have been many inequities; there have been many injustices," said Georgia Senator Richard Russell Jr. during his filibuster of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. "But I insist that more of them grew out of economic factors than from any other single factor."

Into the twenty-first century, some people argue that racial injustice and inequity have grown totally out of economic factors when the evidence is not there. Black American women are three times more likely to die of pregnancy-related causes than White American women. The higher rate of poverty among Black women doesn't explain this racial disparity. Because high-income Black women are still more likely than low-income White women to die of pregnancy-related causes.

Some people refuse to see how racial inequity grows out of economic factors caused by an enduring history of racism, when the evidence *is* there. Gaps in U.S. standardized test scores reflect the economic inequities of families, schools, and the score-boosting test prep courses rich families can afford—not the intellectual superiority of White and Asian students over Black, Latino, and Native

students. Homicide rates tend to track higher in neighborhoods with higher levels of concentrated poverty and long-term unemployment—and higher-income Black neighborhoods have lower homicide rates than lower-income Black neighborhoods.

When all other ways of ignoring racial inequity failed, segregationists rejected the notion that racial inequity evidences racist policy. "This is what one meets when one tries to psychoanalyze from afar and convict a board of registrars simply by using statistics as evidence," Georgia Congressman Maston E. O'Neal Jr. said on April 15, 1965, to oppose the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Pointing to data showing that Black Southerners were barely voting, he said, "There are many factors to be considered in analyzing statistics."

In 2021, a federal appeals court struck down two Arizona laws that made it harder for people of color to vote. The U.S. Supreme Court then overturned the appeals court decision, leaving the Arizona laws in place. Though it may be a "mere inconvenience" for some people to vote, that doesn't mean access to voting is unequal, Justice Samuel Alito wrote in the court's majority opinion. "The mere fact that there is some disparity in impact does not necessarily mean that a system is not equally open or that it does not give everyone an equal opportunity to vote." Likewise, Jonathan Berry recommended in Project 2025 that Congress should "eliminate disparate impact as a valid theory of discrimination for race and other bases under Title VII and other laws. Disparities do not (and should not legally) imply discrimination per se."

This doctrine is how the U.S. Supreme Court has ignored the inequitable college admissions policies that give preferential treatment to White American students, like the advantages given to relatives of college alumni, employees, and donors, or the admissions boosts given to collegiate athletes at highly selective colleges and universities. One analysis revealed that White students comprised 71 percent of athletes at Yale, the University of

Pennsylvania, Dartmouth, Cornell, Brown, and Harvard, while only 6 percent of those student athletes were Black, 5 percent were Asian, 3 percent were Latino, and "close to zero" percent were Native American. A different study found that 43 percent of White students admitted to Harvard in a recent class were recruited athletes or the relatives of college alumni, employees, or donors, compared with only 16 percent of Black, Latino, and Asian students in those categories. About 75 percent of White students in those categories admitted to Harvard "would have been rejected" if not for such admissions boosts, the study found. And yet, when the Supreme Court struck down affirmative action for being "race-based" in 2023, it indirectly accepted these other admissions policies that give preferential treatment to White students as what's erroneously called "race-neutral."

In her dissent to the decision, Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson cited racial inequity data. But Justice Clarence Thomas pushed back, calling Justice Jackson's "broad observations about statistical relationships between race and select measures of health, wealth, and well-being" an attempt "to label all blacks as victims." One more method for ignoring racial inequity and injustice: misrepresenting racial inequity data as making all Black people victims to downplay when Black people *are* the victims. Clearly, all Black individuals are not impoverished, houseless, or food insecure. Thomas felt comfortable talking about Black individuals to promote the idea that if a racial inequity did not apply to all Black people, then it did not apply to any Black people.

—

Orbán's aversion to immigrants does not apply to all immigrants. After all, Hungary, like Germany, needs population boosts, with so many Hungarians migrating away and birth rates at record lows. Hungary's population declined between 2014 and 2023. Population

decline routinely leads to economic decline, which can lead to more population decline and more economic decline.

As Orbán closed borders to migrants from the Balkans, the Middle East, and Africa, his borders remained open to White Christian migrants from the West. Yet another racial injustice to ignore? White Christian migrants are the only true refugees to Orbán. Because they are fleeing the supposed great replacement.

—

"Ordinary citizens, average citizens are moving to Central European countries," Carlson touts toward the end of the interview.

"Many Christian families and conservative families who think that Western Europe is not secure enough, the future is unstable… they are looking for other places," Orbán says. "So we can't exclude the future of the European history when there will be a new migration from west to the east."

Great replacement politicians from Orbán to Trump usually loathe immigrants of color and love White immigrants. In May 2025, in the midst of mass-deporting Black and Brown immigrants and a month before banning travel from Black and Brown nations, the second Trump administration welcomed White South Africans as "refugees." To Trump, they were fleeing White "genocide" and "race-based discrimination." Deputy Secretary of State Christopher Landau stated that, unlike other refugees, these White South Africans can "be assimilated easily into our country."

Assimilated into great replacement theory? With its zero-sum story? Well, the zero-sum story requires ignoring racial inequity and injustice. Ignoring racial inequity and injustice requires a third link: redefining racism.

LINK 3

Racism is biological prejudice and interpersonal discrimination.

Bigotry is prejudice and interpersonal discrimination.

//

José Antonio Kast

Chile

CHAPTER 23

Debate

Six days before the first round of voting, six presidential candidates walk onto the ultimate political stage for the ninth and last presidential debate. It's their final chance to make the case before voters of the southernmost nation in the world.

The candidates gather in their nation's capital, one of the largest cities in the Americas, inside the headquarters of Televisión Nacional de Chile. They stand together on a glossy black circular floor under a ring of bright lights before a cluster of television cameras. No crowd to emit energy and instant feedback in this studio. No cozy prime-time television interview.

It is November 15, 2021, at 8 P.M., three months after Tucker Carlson's prime-time interview with Viktor Orbán. As the presidential candidates stand waiting for the debate to begin, likely no one feels more pressure than the hopeful who publicly admires Orbán and Donald Trump.

José Antonio Kast founded the Partido Republicano, or Republican Party—possibly in homage to Trump's Republicans—in 2019. Kast's Republicans pushed for constructing a ditch on their country's northern border to prevent Haitian and Venezuelan migrants from entering. Kast did not discourage his supporters from wearing red "Make America Great Again" hats at his rallies.

Kast appeared at the earlier debates with the lightness of someone with nothing to lose. On this night, Kast has something to lose: his newfound lead in the first-round election polls—especially if someone were to out his family secret.

About 3.1 million people tune in to the debate. A final opportunity to assess who should be the next leader of their country of 19 million people, located on a narrow strip of land in South America stretching between the Pacific Ocean to the west and the Andes Mountains to the east: the Republic of Chile.

—

"A tradition of the National Television Association [is] to organize a debate with all the presidential alternatives so that this vote would be well informed," opens the white-haired Iván Valenzuela, one of the main hosts for *Teletrece,* the longest-running news program in Chile.

Near Valenzuela stands perhaps the most recognizable interlocutor, Macarena Pizarro, a longtime anchor on *Chilevisión Noticias,* Chile's most-watched news program at the time.

"The candidates are ready and placed in the same order as they appear on the ballot we will receive next Sunday," Pizarro says. "This is why candidate Gabriel Boric is on the number one podium."

Kast views Boric, a thirty-five-year-old former student activist and member of the lower house of Chile's congress, as his number one challenger. Boric campaigned on higher taxes for the rich, expanding the social safety net for lower- and middle-income people, combatting bigotry, addressing climate change, and transforming Chile's privatized pension system.

Boric wears a black suit jacket and white dress shirt, open at the top, with no tie. He looks like a young professor, bespectacled with thick-rimmed glasses.

When Pizarro announces Boric, he looks at her, clasps his hands together as if in prayer, and bows his head with a soft smile.

"At number two is José Antonio Kast," Pizarro says. The camera cuts to him.

Chile's national colors are the same as those of the United States. Kast wears the candidate uniform familiar to American voters: White dress shirt. Dark blue suit. Striking red tie.

Kast looks at Pizarro, as Boric did. He stares into the camera. He forces an awkward smile. He leans his head forward. "Good evening," he says.

Pizarro introduces the rest of the candidates: Atacama senator Yasna Provoste; big business's candidate, Sebastián Sichel; Communist Party leader Eduardo Artés; and Progressive Party founder Marco Enríquez-Ominami.

"We are now ready to begin this debate," Pizarro says.

CHAPTER 24

Neo-Nazi Boomers

Chile is part of a bloc of countries—Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Brazil—that comprise the southernmost portion of South America, known as the Southern Cone. Few regions in the world are farther away from Germany. It was the primary destination for Nazis escaping prosecution for war crimes they committed during World War II.

Nazis fled to the Southern Cone on "ratlines," as the escape routes through Italy and Spain were called. These lines were created by Catholic and South American officials such as Argentine president (and Hitler admirer) Juan Perón, who seized power in 1946. While 199 Nazi leaders were tried during the Nuremberg Trials, as many as 9,000 Nazis escaped to South America in the years after the war. Upwards of 5,000 came to Argentina. As many as 2,000 settled in Brazil. Nearly 1,000 started a new life in Chile. They settled amid the hundreds of thousands of German immigrants already living in those countries before the war.

Some Nazis bypassed the Southern Cone and managed to gain entry into countries like New Zealand, the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. In 1986, journalist Mark Aarons documented the presence of Nazis in Australia, finding that Australian intelligence knew about their past but allowed them in on account of their anti-communist fervor.

Whether arriving in the Southern Cone, Australia, or elsewhere, Nazis changed their names to avoid detection and prosecution. Nazi hunters never captured the second-most-wanted Nazi, nicknamed the "Angel of Death," for his torturous experiments on Jewish and Roma prisoners, mostly children, at the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland. Dr. Josef Mengele assumed aliases, hopped around the Southern Cone, and stayed alive and free until he drowned from a stroke while swimming in Brazil in 1979.

Most of the Nazis who escaped to the Southern Cone—and other regions of the world—were never caught. Some likely disassociated from their Nazi ideology in public. Maybe some unlearned their Nazi ideology, refusing to pass it on to their children. Others no doubt planted Nazi ideology within the minds of their children and grandchildren. Some of those children and grandchildren possibly discovered and uprooted these Nazi ideas. Some of them carried these Nazi ideas into adulthood. Some of them renovated Nazism into neo-Nazism—into a new great replacement theory. And some of them have been achieving the power and influence their parents experienced long ago in Nazi Germany. Their parents were Nazis. They are neo-Nazis. These neo-Nazis hide in plain sight, largely undetected and unprosecuted in the twenty-first century. Accurate definitions of neo-Nazism and racism are needed for people to clearly see them. But neo-Nazism and racism have been misdefined since the days of Nazi Germany.

—

The first scholars to define *racism* were not scholars of racism. One of the first, Magnus Hirschfeld, was a renowned scholar of human sexuality. In 1897, he founded Berlin's Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, widely regarded as the world's first gay rights organization. In 1914, Hirschfeld published his most important work, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (*The*

Homosexuality of Men and Women), surveying homosexuality in cultures around the world to disprove the notion that heterosexuality was the default human condition.

After a lecture in 1920, Hirschfeld walked back to his hotel. This Jewish man took in the sights of Munich, where the recently founded Nazi Party was growing rapidly under the spellbinding thirty-one-year-old orator Adolf Hitler. Maybe the men who noticed Hirschfeld walking alone had heard Hitler speak. Who knows? What is known is that they approached the fifty-two-year-old Hirschfeld and brutally beat him, fractured his skull, and left him for dead.

Hirschfeld did not die in Munich. He recovered while reading his obituaries. He went back to Berlin, back to work. So did Hitler's Nazis, amassing popular support through the cries of "Down with the Jews!" and down with homosexuals and down with women not abiding by "the three K's": *Kinder, Küche, Kirche*—children, kitchen, church.

Months after seizing power in 1933, the Nazis raided Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science. They confiscated more than 10,000 volumes from his library and burned them in Berlin's Opera Square before burning Hirschfeld in effigy. Book burnings became the Nazi way of "banning" books that challenged racism, sexism, and homophobia.

Hirschfeld had already bolted into exile, ultimately to Nice, France. A fatal stroke on his sixty-seventh birthday, in 1935, stopped him, but not before he finished writing a book on what befell many marginalized people like him. Hirschfeld titled that work, written in German in 1933 and 1934, *Racism.*

CHAPTER 25

Race War

"**Race war instead** of class war'—such was the pithy formula…uttered by the rulers of the Third Realm as soon as they had established their power over Germany," Hirschfeld opened his book. "We must admit that the exponents of this thesis have been extraordinarily successful in translating it from theory into practice."

People show how they define racism by how they deny or describe it. Hirschfeld's *Racism* surveyed the history of hierarchical ideas of biologically distinct races, dating back to the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. Hirschfeld defined *racism* as the pseudoscientific doctrine that one race is biologically distinct and permanently superior to another race—what I call *segregationist ideas*. He seemed to define a *racist* as an irrational and hateful person who believes this doctrine that certain races are inferior by nature.

Hirschfeld himself thought the "coloured races" were culturally and behaviorally inferior due to history and environment. But unlike Nazis, who held segregationist ideas, Hirschfeld thought the "coloured races" were capable of assimilating, of reaching the "high civilization" of "Whites." Hirschfeld did not define his own assimilationist ideas as *racist.* Hirschfeld did not define as *racist* the notion "that there are peoples and races at varying levels of

development: some that appear childlike when contrasted with their more advanced, adult brethren," as he wrote in *Racism.* He did not think he was being racist for looking upon Black people as "childlike" at a time when Black adults were being called "gal" and "boy."

In 1938, three years after Hirschfeld's death, *Racism* was first published in English translation. Two years later, with Nazi soldiers marching across France, the American anthropologist Ruth Benedict popularized the term "racism" in the United States with her book *Race: Science and Politics.* To open her book, Benedict used a quote that Hirschfeld had cited early in his book, from Georges Vacher de Lapouge: "I am convinced that in the next century millions will cut each other's throats because of 1 or 2 degrees more or less of cephalic index," the French eugenicist wrote in 1899. Hirschfeld had called him the "prophet of the race war."

Benedict, too, wrote about the great replacement theory of race war: that this "pure race" must now guard "from contamination by that of lesser breeds, lest degeneration follow and [their] race lose its supremacy. All over the world for the last generation this doctrine has been invoked in every possible kind of conflict, sometimes national, between peoples as racially similar as the French and Germans; sometimes across the color line, as in Western fears of the Yellow Peril; sometimes in class conflicts, as in France; sometimes in conflicts between immigrants who arrived a little earlier and those who came a little later, as in America," Benedict wrote. "It has become a bedlam."

Benedict defined racism in the same manner as Hirschfeld, as "an unproved assumption of the biological and perpetual superiority of one human group over another." This definition rightfully included the "bedlam" of Nazism, while excluding Benedict's own ideas (like Hirschfeld's) of the cultural and temporary superiority of one racial group over another. In her 1935 book *Patterns of Culture,* Benedict

contrasted the “great and complex whole” of “Western civilization” with the “simpler cultures” of “primitive peoples.”

Nearly a century later—in one of the great ironies of history—many great replacement theorists have constructed their neo-Nazism on the very definitions that Magnus Hirschfeld and Ruth Benedict used to deconstruct Nazism: ideas of cultural hierarchy are “not racist.”

CHAPTER 26

"Not Racist"

Great replacement theorists reduce racist ideas to notions of *genetic* or biological racial hierarchy. This definition allows them to say that their own ideas of *cultural* racial hierarchy are "not racist," just as it did for Hirschfeld and Benedict. While the Nazis evoked a *genetic* race war (as the more extreme great replacement theorists still do today), this cultureless, biological definition allows twenty-first-century neo-Nazis to instead evoke a *cultural* race war and proclaim their evocations are "not racist." Whereas the Nazi great replacement theorists proclaimed that White genes were being replaced, neo-Nazi great replacement theorists claim that White cultures are being replaced and argue these proclamations are "not racist."

Renaud Camus portrays himself as "not racist." Because "I don't have any genetic conception of races," as he told *The New Yorker.* "I don't use the word 'superior.'" Which means Camus implicitly defines as *racist* someone who has a genetic conception of races and uses the word "superior." And yet, in the twenty-first century, instead of using words like "superior" and "inferior," racist thinkers portray what is purportedly wrong or right, better or worse, about a (racialized) group or culture.

In July 2022, in his annual address to prospective voter tourists in Romania, Viktor Orbán stated that Hungarians "are not a mixed

race…we do not want to become peoples of mixed race." The global outrage came fast and furiously. One of Orbán's longtime aides, Zsuzsa Hegedüs, resigned, calling the speech "a pure Nazi text." Orbán denied this description. "This is not a race issue for us, this is a cultural issue," he said. On this point Orbán is correct: his speech was not a Nazi text against the blood races mixing. It was a neo-Nazi text against cultural races mixing.

And Orbán believed his ideas were "not racist." So did the speaker of the Finnish parliament, Jussi Halla-aho, when he railed against Black and Brown immigrants in 2023 for being "harmful to Finland." Halla-aho defended his words: "If someone thinks that is racism, then 's'il vous plaît,' they can call us racist, but this is not how I understand racism."

In 2018, Steve Bannon addressed Marine Le Pen's National Front. "Let them call you racist," Bannon said. "Let them call you xenophobes. Let them call you nativist. Wear it as a badge of honor. Because every day, we get stronger and they get weaker." In actuality, great replacement politicians attempt to get stronger by orchestrating distance from people popularly believed to be racist—probably so their supporters won't recognize they have been wooed with racist appeals.

During municipal elections in 2014, Geert Wilders, the leading great replacement politician in the Netherlands, rallied a Dutch crowd in The Hague. "Do you want more or fewer Moroccans in this city and in the Netherlands?" Wilders asked, pointing at the crowd, nodding. Loudly, the audience responded, "Fewer! Fewer! Fewer!" Wilders put his hands to his sides. "We'll take care of that," he said. Wilders was charged with inciting hatred. Before the judges in 2016, Wilders said, "I am not a racist and my supporters are not racists either." He added, "In the name of all those Dutch citizens, I call on you to acquit me, acquit us." Wilders was initially found guilty of inciting hatred—but this decision was overturned by another court in 2020.

Appearing on television in May 2019, Brazil's President Jair Bolsonaro recalled the time he saved a drowning Black soldier. "If I was racist, what would I have done on seeing a black fall into the water? I'd have folded my arms." Bolsonaro thus indirectly defined *racist* as a hate-filled person who would never do anything humane for "a black."

The denial that one is being racist extends to the denial that one's nation is being racist. "France is the least racist country in the world," Marine Le Pen said in 2013. She was being questioned about a local election candidate from her party who had compared France's Minister of Justice, Christiane Taubira—a Black woman—to an ape.

In July 2019, Donald Trump tweeted that predominantly Black Baltimore was "a disgusting, rat and rodent infested mess" where "no human being would want to live." When commentators described this comment as racist, Trump responded, "I am the least racist person there is anywhere in the world." When, on January 26, 2018, Piers Morgan questioned Trump's circulation of racist videos from Britain First, Trump replied, "I am the least racist person that anybody is going to meet."

People like Le Pen and Trump define *racism* and *racist* in ways that exonerate their own inequitable policies and their own hierarchal ideas, harking back to academic definers like Hirschfeld and Benedict. The history of defining racism is also the history of denying racism.

I did not want to continue this history.

CHAPTER 27

Definitions

In my previous work, I have acknowledged times in the past when I have been racist or reinforced racism toward different racial groups, particularly my own, Black people. Based on my research, I define *racism* as a power structure of policies and practices that lead to racial inequity and injustice, justified by ideas of racial hierarchy. I define *racist* as someone who is expressing an idea of racial hierarchy or supporting an inequitable or unjust policy with their actions or inaction. *Racist* has a clear definition but it does not clearly define a person. *Racist* is not a fixed identity. No one *is* a racist. People are being racist (or antiracist) based only on what they are doing or not doing, saying or not saying.

Definitions of *racism* (structural) and *racist* (individual) are usually conflated. *Racism* is commonly defined as biological "prejudice" and interpersonal "discrimination." Some define *racism* as "prejudice plus power," as psychologist Patricia A. Bidol-Padva first did in 1970. The American Psychological Association defines *racism* as "a form of prejudice that generally includes negative emotional reactions to members of a group, acceptance of negative stereotypes, and racial discrimination against individuals." The U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission defines racial "discrimination" as "treating someone…unfavorably because he/she is of a certain race or because of personal characteristics associated

with race (such as hair texture, skin color, or certain facial features)."

To reduce racism to prejudice, or what I call *racist ideas,* is to disregard the historic function of prejudice or racist ideas. The degradation of racial groups conceals the true source of racial inequity and injustice—the power structure of racist policies and practices. For example, framing Black people as violent conceals the racist policies behind the mass incarceration of Black people.

Reducing racism to "discrimination" conceals the power structure, too. This is particularly the case when "discrimination" is understood as an interpersonal action, such as when a "prejudiced" hiring manager "discriminates" against a candidate because of that person's race. This *does* happen to individuals. But what is more harmful is the installment of racist policies that affect racial *groups.* For instance, a racist policy that needlessly requires candidates to be college graduates—or graduates of highly ranked, historically White colleges and universities—artificially creates a "qualified" candidate pool that is disproportionately White. A racist policy that regulates the actions of *all* hiring managers leads to many more individuals from a racial group not getting hired than the racist discrimination of a single hiring manager (or several), because hiring managers who otherwise would qualify candidates of color end up executing this racist policy and disqualifying candidates of color. And that's just one policy, one wall of exclusion, in a whole power structure of racist policies.

In the twenty-first century, this power structure of racist policies is by necessity devoid of racial language. We saw this with the grandfather clauses, poll taxes, and literacy tests that, by the early twentieth century, had almost totally disenfranchised African Americans in the South. Great replacement politicians promote intent-based definitions that characterize a policy as "discriminatory" only when it has explicitly racial language expressing the intention to discriminate. Intent-based definitions

allow great replacement theorists to imagine that the policies and programs devoid of racial language but leading to racial inequity are "not racist," while policies and programs created to reduce racial inequity are "racist" because they explicitly use racial language.

Racial inequity data can be made irrelevant when definitions of racism are intent-based, not outcome-based; when racism is defined as interpersonal rather than structural; when the effects of racism are defined as solely affecting individuals, not groups; when prejudice involves only biological ideas, not cultural or behavioral ones. This third link in the chain of ideas—this misdefining of racism in a manner that reduces it to biological "prejudice" and interpersonal and intentional "discrimination"—has been critical to the reemergence of great replacement theory in the twenty-first century. In the end, neo-Nazis have changed their definitions of *racism* for the same reasons Nazis changed their names after World War II.

CHAPTER 28

Michael Kast

As José Antonio Kast waits for the commercial to end, waits for the Chilean presidential debate to begin, maybe he thinks about his father, Michael. His father was born in 1924 in Thalkirchdorf, a small village in southern Germany, near the border with Austria in the foothills of the Alps.

Long before the debate, Kast acknowledged that his father had served in the German military during World War II. But he dismissed claims that his father was a Nazi, stating that his father had no choice but to join the Nazi army.

While German men were required to serve in the military, they were not required to join the Nazi Party. On September 1, 1942, five months after turning eighteen—the minimum age for membership—Michael Kast joined the Nazi Party. He became one of the roughly 10 percent of Germans who were card-carrying members of the Nazi Party. A district leader likely recommended Kast for membership after he served in the Hitler Youth for four years, according to German historian Armin Nolzen. Nazi indoctrination of German youth intensified at around the age of fourteen, the same age neo-Nazis in the twenty-first century start actively indoctrinating and recruiting White youth online, according to reporting in *The Washington Post*'s "On Parenting" vertical.

No one on the debate stage has evidence that Kast's father was a Nazi. On December 1, 2021—sixteen days after that final debate—Chilean journalist Mauricio Weibel would tweet an image of Michael Kast's Nazi Party ID card. A week later, the Associated Press, reporting from Berlin, would confirm that "the German-born father of Chilean presidential frontrunner José Antonio Kast was a member of Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party."

Since entering Chilean politics, Kast has kept this family secret. Great replacement politicians do not want to be connected to Nazis. They do not want to be described as neo-Nazi any more than they want to be described as racist. They hide the bones of their political theory from voters to orchestrate distance from Hitler's Nazism, which many of their voters loathe. But there's no escaping the fact that underlying Nazism was what is now named great replacement theory. And this conspiracy theory—that Jews were coming to annihilate Aryans—helped rationalize Hitler's conventional dictatorship.

Great replacement politicians hide who they really are so the people they manipulate won't know who they are becoming—and what their nations are becoming. Misdefining racism—and hiding great replacement theory's genealogy tracing back to Nazism—could not be more vital to the electability of great replacement politicians.

—

Michael Kast first served in the German army in France, and possibly participated in Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, which began on June 22, 1941. Known as Operation Barbarossa, it was the largest and bloodiest military operation in human history. As many as eight million White soldiers were killed, wounded, or captured. Hitler created hell on earth.

If Kast participated in this operation, then he survived. At some point, he earned a promotion to lieutenant in the Nazi war machine and was deployed to Italy in 1944 and 1945. He was captured twice by Allied soldiers. The second time, his unit had surrendered in northern Italy, likely as part of the surrender of all German and Italian fascist forces on April 29, 1945.

The elder Kast realized he was about 250 kilometers from his home in southern Germany. He leaped out of a second-floor window during a guard change. He crossed the snow-covered Alps. "I covered thirty km per night and rested in the bushes during the day," Kast recalled. "I walked across glaciers and snowfields with snowshoes attached to my soles."

Michael Kast met his wife, Olga, during his journey. He arrived home as the war ended in Europe. He and Olga wed in 1946.

But Kast saw prosecution on the horizon for Nazi officials. He burned the army paperwork in his possession. He obtained a new identity in 1947. During the denazification campaign, German officials were skeptical of his alias. They found his official file in Nazi records. Caught red-handed, he seems to have admitted to his Nazi past. A prosecutor, struck by his honesty, burned his file—and let Kast go.

Michael Kast decided not to test his luck anymore in denazifying Germany. He fled to the Southern Cone, first to Argentina and ultimately settling in 1950 in Linderos, Chile, outside of Santiago. His wife and two children, Miguel and Barbara, joined him the following year. He established a lucrative sausage business and restaurant chain known as Cecinas Bavaria. He would go on to champion one of Latin America's most murderous dictators. He had eight more children with Olga. Their youngest child, José Antonio, years later is ready for his debate.

CHAPTER 29

Augusto Pinochet

After a commercial break, *Teletrece* host Iván Valenzuela opens the first segment. The debate format and topics are presented. He asks the candidates about "politics and governance."

Progressive Enríquez-Ominami, with slicked-back gray hair, wearing a navy blazer and tie, takes the first shot. "José Antonio Kast has manipulated this election by lowering its level and intensity with fear proposals," he says.

Enríquez-Ominami looks over at Kast and continues.

"Remember that you have three and a half minutes left," Valenzuela says, looking at Kast after Enríquez-Ominami finishes. "José Antonio Kast, why would you want to govern with those who call Pinochet's government a dictatorship?"

In 1973, Augusto Pinochet, the commander in chief of the Chilean army, led an assault on the presidential palace of the democratically elected socialist Salvador Allende. The day of the coup, as troops descended upon the palace, President Allende took his own life instead of surrendering to Pinochet's military junta and facing certain execution. The junta was backed by Chilean businessmen like Michael Kast, U.S. multinational corporations, and the CIA.

In the early 1970s, amid its other efforts to undermine democracy in Chile, the CIA paid *El Mercurio*—Chile's oldest

newspaper, founded in 1827—at least $1.5 million to criticize Allende's economic reforms and to call for his overthrow. *El Mercurio* would likely have been the favorite paper of former Nazis like Michael Kast. After those Nazis supported Pinochet's ascent to dictatorial power—and when Pinochet handed Chilean and American corporations the unregulated freedom to exploit the people and the land—*El Mercurio* routinely provided General Pinochet with political support and cover.

José Antonio Kast received similar support and cover from *El Mercurio.* The daily newspaper, which had Chile's highest paid circulation, had likely remained the favored outlet for Chile's neo-Nazi *and Nazi* community in the twenty-first century. After all, weeks before the final presidential debate in 2021, *El Mercurio* commemorated the life of Hermann Göring, who created the Gestapo in 1933, led the Nazi air force, and became the second-most-powerful man in Nazi Germany. Rudolf Hess was official deputy führer to Adolf Hitler from 1933 until 1941; *El Mercurio* ran an article commemorating Hess's life in May 2021.

—

Similar to when Hitler took power in 1933, Augusto Pinochet moved to silence any and all Chileans committed to antiracist democracy. Through massacres. Through jailings. Through torture. It was one of the most ghastly and extensive waves of political terror in Latin American history. In June 1974, Pinochet booted out the rest of the military junta and established a conventional dictatorship. He did not hold direct elections over the next fifteen years.

The political opposition was like the sun; it kept coming back every day to shine a light on Pinochet's injustice. In 1984, Pinochet had had enough. He decreed an "anti-terrorism" law to provide more tools to execute and legalize his political terror. The law defined the people who opposed his dictatorship as "terrorists," and

defined their protests as "terrorism" and their efforts to overthrow his dictatorship as "terror" attacks. These definitions covered up who the real terrorists were, who was really engaging in terrorism. Just as misdefinitions of *racist* and *racism* cover up who is really being racist, who is really reinforcing racism. Just as misdefinitions of *neo-Nazi* cover up who the real neo-Nazis are. The misdefining of *terrorism* and *terrorist* goes hand in hand with the misdefining of *racist* and *neo-Nazi*. And "terror attacks" helped the comeback of great replacement politicians.

CHAPTER 30

Terror

After exploiting the pain from the Great Recession, after exploiting White anxiety over the election of a Black president, great replacement politicians exploited the series of terror attacks in Europe during the 2015 migrant "crisis." In the late morning of January 7, 2015, Chérif and Saïd Kouachi viciously gunned down twelve people in the offices of *Charlie Hebdo,* a Paris-based satirical newspaper. "We have avenged the Prophet Muhammad," the attackers reportedly yelled during the shooting. *Charlie Hebdo* had a history of Islamophobic depictions of Muhammad. One *Charlie Hebdo* editor argued their cartoons lampooned Muslim terrorists and Islamic fundamentalism—not Muslims, not Islam. And yet much of Marine Le Pen's political base likely enjoyed these cartoons, refusing to distinguish between a Muslim and a terrorist. These Le Pen voters likely overlapped with the four out of ten French respondents who had recently told a survey that Muslims are "a threat to our national identity."

Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula claimed responsibility for the attack, having trained these two brothers of Algerian descent who were born in France. Hours after the mass shooting, Marine Le Pen declared, "We must not be scared of words. This is a terrorist act committed in the name of radical Islamism." Over in the Netherlands, Geert Wilders told a *Newsweek* reporter that "the

Islamification of our society is what's causing this." He blamed antiracist ideas. "The biggest disease we have faced in the last decades in Europe is cultural relativism, the idea by liberals and leftist politicians that all cultures are equal. They are not," Wilders said. "Our culture…it's a better culture."

Viktor Orbán attended a rally in Paris to honor the victims of the *Charlie Hebdo* shooting. He later addressed Hungarians on television. "We do not want to see a significant minority among ourselves that has different cultural characteristics and background." On that same day, January 11, 2015, Giorgia Meloni, Italy's prominent great replacement politician, tweeted: "Europe must have the courage to forcefully oppose those who have declared war on our values #CharlieHebdo."

—

Five months later, a twenty-one-year-old White man entered the basement of Mother Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. It was around 8:15 P.M. on June 17, 2015. Dylann Roof had boasted of being "blessed with a significant amount of German blood and a German surname." He had dropped out of high school, had skipped from job to job, drank and consumed drugs heavily, and visited strip clubs. He preferred Black strippers.

As life cratered, Roof started reading websites spouting great replacement theory and telling friends he wanted to start a race war. He started religiously using the symbol "88," Nazi and neo-Nazi shorthand for "Heil Hitler." He accepted exactly 88 Facebook friends. He brought 88 bullets with him when he entered the oldest African Methodist Episcopal church in the U.S. South.

At the church, Roof came upon twelve African Americans, who welcomed him into their Bible study. He took a seat next to the pastor. The group prayed together and discussed scripture. At some

point, Roof pulled a gun from a fanny pack. He murdered nine of the Bible study participants, leaving two survivors he thought were dead, along with another alive "to tell the story." At the time, it represented, alongside the 1991 mass shooting at a Buddhist temple in Arizona, the deadliest attack at a place of worship in U.S. history.

Roof posted a "manifesto" before the shooting. "Anyone who thinks that White and black people look as different as we do on the outside, but are somehow magically the same on the inside, is delusional," Roof wrote. He called Jews an "enigma." He contended Latinos "have respect for White beauty" and pinpointed the "good White blood" worth "saving in Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and even Brasil [*sic*]. But they are still our enemies." By contrast, "I am not opposed at all to allies with the Northeast Asian races," Roof wrote. "They are by nature very racist."

Roof carried out this attack to help prevent what he believed was the coming extinction of White people. "I have no choice." Roof first began to imagine the great replacer as Black criminals after visiting the website of the segregationist Council of Conservative Citizens. "There were pages upon pages of these brutal black on White murders" in the United States, Roof wrote. "I saw that the same things were happening in England and France, and in all the other Western European countries." Yet many more pages could be filled with brutal White-on-White murders—as the vast majority of the murderers of White people in the United States and Europe are White people.

After Roof's attack, the Council of Conservative Citizens orchestrated distance. It "unequivocally condemns Roof's murderous actions," while standing "unshakably behind the facts on its website, and points out the dangers of denying the extent of black-on-white crime." Great replacement theorists convince White people that they are under attack but distance themselves from great replacement soldiers who mass-murder to protect White people. It is like

planting mines in society and refusing to take responsibility when they kill people.

Dylann Roof was one of the great replacement soldiers who inspired Payton Gendron's massacre in Buffalo seven years later. Gendron described Roof—and Anders Breivik—as "fighters" striving to "prevent our genocide." To Gendron, "These men fought for me and had the same goals I did."

—

Since September 12, 2001, White Christian great replacement soldiers like Roof have been responsible for almost three times as many terror attacks in the United States as attackers who practice Islam. Since 1990, White Christian great replacement soldiers like Roof have committed many more homicides than attackers who practice Islam. But in the aftermath of Roof's terror attack—like others before or since—great replacement politicians refused to define mass attacks by White Christians as *terror* attacks. They offered thoughts and prayers and condolences to the victims. They identified the great replacement soldiers as insane lone wolves to cover up the fact that the logical endpoint of great replacement theory is…terror.

The Charleston church attack clearly meant war to Dylann Roof. But Geert Wilders did not proclaim "This is war" from Holland. Neither Marine Le Pen nor Giorgia Meloni named *this* terror. Viktor Orbán did not give any televised addresses.

To define only peoples of color or Muslims engaged in political violence as terrorists is to substantiate that White Christians are under attack. To substantiate that White Christians are under attack is to substantiate great replacement theory. To substantiate great replacement theory is to substantiate race war. To substantiate race war is to substantiate the annihilation of humanity. Either humans

will learn to live together across differences or humans will end up dying together because of our differences.

The day after the Charleston shooting, Trump tweeted, "The tragedy in South Carolina is incomprehensible. My deepest condolences to all." Half an hour later, Trump returned to Twitter to promote his appearance that morning on MSNBC's *Morning Joe.*

Other terror attacks, more helpful to great replacement politics, were coming.

CHAPTER 31

Authoritarian Thinking

Beginning around 9:20 P.M. on November 13, 2015, three groups coordinated six gruesome attacks on residents of Paris and the suburb of Saint-Denis, killing 130 people and injuring more than 400. The Islamic State claimed responsibility, framing the attacks as revenge for French military attacks on ISIS in Syria and Iraq. The attackers were primarily French or Belgian nationals of Moroccan or Algerian descent.

Prosecutors stated that two of the three suicide bombers had come into France from Greece, pretending to be migrants escaping the Syrian civil war. Two out of the 387,000 Syrians who applied for asylum in the EU in 2015. Those odds prompted French Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve to press all EU interior ministers to tighten their borders through "necessary systematic and coordinated checks…including on individuals enjoying the right of free movement." The "mastermind" of the attacks had traveled from Syria through EU border checks at least twice in the year prior, despite European and international warrants for his arrest. "Everyone must understand Europe has to organise, recover, defend itself against the terrorist threat," Cazeneuve said.

Many interior ministers were hearing the same message from their compatriots. Survey data in twenty-eight EU countries in the aftermath of the Paris attacks showed "a significant negative effect

on attitudes toward immigrants, especially among educated and left-wing individuals."

People across ideologies become susceptible to "authoritarian thinking" when they perceive a grave threat to their safety. So great replacement politicians have embellished the individual attackers as representing an invading army of "Islamic extremism." They claimed White people need what historian Ruth Ben-Ghiat terms a "strongman" as their protector. They said elected politicians, and the European Union as a whole, had not been tough enough on terrorism. Even before the Paris attacks, Sweden's migration minister told the BBC, "We haven't heard rhetoric like this in Europe since the 1930s. It really worries me."

After the November attacks in Paris, Italy's Giorgia Meloni again posted on social media, this time tweeting: "Not only the French, all Europeans are at war against the Islamic fanaticism that hates our freedom." But leading the reaction was Marine Le Pen. "France and the French are no longer safe," she proclaimed the day after the attacks. She demanded that the French government "expel foreigners who preach hatred on our soil." At the time, Le Pen was campaigning hard for the December 2015 regional elections. National Rally won about 27 percent of the vote, tripling its vote share from 2010.

Great replacement politicians channeled the anger over the 2015 terror attacks and migrant "crisis" into new political parties with unprecedented levels of electoral support. That year in the Czech Republic, Tomio Okamura and Radim Fiala founded Svoboda a Přímá Demokracie (Freedom and Direct Democracy). Two years later, the party's secretary, Jaroslav Staník, said, "Jews, homosexuals, and gypsies should be gassed." On International Holocaust Remembrance Day, Okamura imagined that the Nazi concentration camp in Lety "was not fenced" and the approximately 1,300 Roma people imprisoned there between 1942 and 1943,

many of whom were sent to their deaths at Auschwitz-Birkenau, "were free to come and go."

In 2015, the Danish People's Party had its best-ever performance in the parliamentary elections, finishing second and pushing the ruling Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti (Left, Denmark's Liberal Party) to tighten immigration laws. In Switzerland, the Schweizerische Volkspartei (Swiss People's Party) amassed the highest proportion of votes of any single party since 1919 in the National Council elections held on October 18, 2015. A week later, in Poland, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS), or Law and Justice, secured a majority of seats in the Polish parliament, its largest share to date. The party built on its success with Andrzej Duda's election to the presidency earlier in the year. Duda had defeated the incumbent, Bronisław Komorowski. In a presidential debate, Duda slammed Komorowski for apologizing for Polish complicity in the Holocaust, for this "attempt to destroy Poland's good name."

Central to Duda and his party's political messaging was the assertion that Poland had been facing an invasion of immigrants along its eastern border with Belarus. In addition to attacking immigrants, PiS leaders positioned queerness as a harmful "ideology" that seeks to replace "traditional" values. The party opposed gay marriage and adoption and pushed for local governments to create "LGBT-free zones" where queer "ideology"—queer people, queer literature, even talking about queerness—would be banned, especially around children. "Children should not be subjected to practices that are certainly harmful to them and can lead to psychological changes that will negatively affect them in adult life," PiS party leader Jarosław Kaczyński said. (What actually became harmful were the "LGBT-free zones." Suicide attempts in Poland rose among queer people across age groups, even among teens as young as thirteen. Researchers found a 61 percent

increase in suicide among thirty- to forty-nine-year-olds, especially men.)

Great replacement politicians were striving to stop public expressions of queerness despite harm to their own citizens. But for all their tough talk, they could not stop another gruesome terror attack.

CHAPTER 32

Only Our Prayers

On March 22, 2016, at 7:58 A.M., two men of Moroccan descent exploded devices in the main terminal of Brussels Airport, in Zaventem, Belgium, not far from where they had grown up. About an hour later, a third suicide bomber, the brother of one of the airport bombers, blew himself up inside a train at the Maelbeek metro station. ISIS claimed responsibility for the two horrific terror attacks, which killed 32 people and injured 340.

The electoral effects of terror attacks have spanned the globe. One study showed that a "terror attack" in an Israeli locality three months before an election can cause "an increase of 1.35 percentage points" in support for Netanyahu's Likud party and other great replacement parties, which has been "enough to decide the elections" in Israel's split electorate. In the day after the Brussels attacks, 10,000 Facebook users liked the page of Belgium's great replacement party Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest). "We are the only party that highlights the dangers of radical Islam and the existence of parallel societies in our main cities," party leader Tom Van Grieken said.

—

The terror attacks kept coming and great replacement parties kept getting boosts. On July 14, 2016, French residents of Nice gathered on the city's beachfront promenade to watch fireworks on Bastille Day—France's national holiday celebrating the defeat of absolute monarchy during the French Revolution. A huge truck came racing down the street, indiscriminately barreling over hundreds of people and leaving eighty-six people dead, including fifteen children. The driver, Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel, was born in Tunisia. He had arrived in France a decade prior and had a residency permit. ISIS claimed responsibility for the truck attack.

"What prevented the terrorist from killing more innocents in France was not collective hugs, doves, or 'experts,' IT WAS THE POLICE OFFICERS' WEAPONS!" tweeted Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro. Russian President Vladimir Putin said in a video address to France: "Russia knows terrorism and the threat it creates for us all." Le Pen said, "The war against the scourge of Islamist fundamentalism has not begun; it's now urgent to declare it." In less than a year, her party's membership in the Nice area increased about fivefold, according to a local party official.

On July 22, 2016, eight days after the Nice truck attack, Norway mourned the fifth anniversary of Anders Breivik's slaying of seventy-seven people. Eighteen-year-old Ali Sonboly chose this day for his terror attack in Munich, Germany—the cradle of the Nazi Party. Sonboly, the child of Iranian immigrants, referred to immigrants as "foreign sub-humans." Legally changing his name to "David" two months before the attack, he considered himself a proud "Aryan," positioning Iran as the homeland of Aryans. Sonboly counted it to be a "special honour" to share a birthday with none other than Adolf Hitler. He "worshiped" the Af D, Germany's great replacement party.

Sonboly opened fire at a McDonald's in Munich known to be patronized by immigrants. He then brought his killing spree to the nearby Olympia shopping center. In total, he murdered nine people, including three of Kosovo Albanian heritage, three of Turkish

heritage, and one of Hungarian heritage. "I am German," he reportedly shouted during the killing spree. The gunfire ended when he took his own life.

Marine Le Pen reacted quite differently to this attack than to those by Muslim assailants. "Solidarity with the German people devastated by the Munich attack," Le Pen tepidly tweeted.

Political scientists Werner Krause and Miku Matsunaga demonstrated that the "right-wing extremist attacks" in Europe, the United States, and New Zealand between 2013 and 2019 *increased* support for Germany's AfD, particularly among "mainstream right voters switching to the far right." Another study arrived at a similar finding: "the AfD benefits from acts of terror which, by and large, were carried out by perpetrators motivated by right-wing extremist causes, including Neo-Nazi attacks, and who, by and large, targeted foreigners."

Great replacement parties do not politically benefit by happenstance. After neo-Nazi attacks like the one in Munich, great replacement parties blame the victims, downplay the attacks, and refer to "left-wing political violence and Islamist terrorism as the supposedly more severe threats to the country," Krause and Matsunaga found. "When public debates drew connections between the AfD and right-wing violence, its members often accused other parties of turning the AfD into scapegoats." Ultimately, the AfD used terror attacks on immigrants to "present immigration as the most significant threat to the social fabric and public security," the researchers added.

AfD Deputy Chair Alexander Gauland did not react publicly to the Munich attack on immigrants. Two days after the shooting, a twenty-seven-year-old from Syria, whose request for asylum in Germany had been denied a year earlier, detonated a bomb at a music festival in Ansbach. The bomb injured at least a dozen people. Now Gauland reacted, demanding Muslims be temporarily banned from entering Germany. "There are terrorists among the

illegally immigrated Muslims, and their numbers are constantly increasing," Gauland maintained.

Great replacement terror has posed some political peril for great replacement parties. While it has allowed these parties to attract more mainstream voters, the shootings may be alienating their base. One survey of people in Germany, Sweden, and the Netherlands revealed that great replacement terror has *reduced* the propensity to vote for great replacement parties among voters "high" in "right-wing authoritarianism."

The number of deaths worldwide due to terror attacks decreased by 59 percent between 2014 and 2019, with the largest regional declines occurring in the Middle East and North Africa. ISIS had lost territorial control in Syria and Iraq. Conflicts like the Syrian civil war had deescalated.

During that same period, the number of terror attacks carried out by great replacement soldiers in North America, Western Europe, and Oceania increased by 250 percent; the number of deaths from these attacks increased by 709 percent from 2014 to 2019. During this period, there were more terror attacks carried out by great replacement soldiers than at any other point in the last fifty years.

But back in 2017, the focus remained on ISIS. A terror attack snatched precious lives at the concert of an American singer performing in the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER 33

Racism Is Suicidal

The house lights came on. As attendees departed Ariana Grande's concert at the Manchester Arena on May 22, 2017, a suicide bomber blew himself up in the venue's foyer, killing twenty-two people and injuring more than a thousand. ISIS claimed responsibility. The twenty-two-year-old bomber, Salman Abedi, was born in Manchester to parents who had fled to England from Libya in 1993, seeking asylum from Muammar Gaddafi's regime.

Twelve days after the Manchester Arena bombing, on June 3, three men drove a large white van onto the walkway of London Bridge shortly after 10 P.M. The van hit and killed three people before crashing into railings at nearby Borough High Street. The men jumped out of the van, ran to Borough Market, and slaughtered another five people with kitchen knives strapped to their wrists. Police killed all three of the attackers at the scene. A British citizen of Pakistani descent led the terror attack. His comrades were of Moroccan and Libyan ancestry.

After the Manchester bombing, UK Prime Minister Theresa May did not mention "Islamic extremism" in her statement. But after the London Bridge murders, May said the two attacks were "bound together by the single, evil ideology of Islamist extremism that preaches hatred, sows division, and promotes sectarianism." She proposed a four-step plan to eliminate terrorism. The first step:

turning "people's minds away from this violence—and make them understand that our values—pluralistic, British values—are superior to anything offered by the preachers and supporters of hate." Like great replacement politicians, May could not bring herself to condemn the preachers and supporters of hate in her midst who did not value pluralism. Hating Islam. Hating Black and Brown peoples.

An "avalanche of warnings" had come to the police about the three London Bridge attackers, only for them to be "played down, ignored or missed," according to investigators. England's Security Service, MI5, knew before the Manchester attack that Abedi supported ISIS. For years, great replacement politicians had pushed for more soldiers, police, and surveillance, arguing these would prevent terror attacks. But police states have never saved humanity from violence and terror. Police states are violent and terroristic.

Whenever it becomes clear—as it did after these two mass murders in England—that heavily bankrolled "security forces" have not kept people safe, great replacement politicians only get louder in their war calls for more soldiers, police, and surveillance. Alice Weidel, who had just been appointed co-leader of Germany's AfD for the upcoming federal elections, tweeted, "If you really want to take effective action against terror and radicalization, then we can only do so with a zero-tolerance policy!" Holland's Geert Wilders tweeted, "This is war."

White Christians and Jews are told the same message after every terror attack: Muslims are at war with you. Some hear: Brown and Black people are at war with White people. Great replacement theory is a war theory. Great replacement theorists inflame both the victims and the perpetrators of attacks. They do not call for introspection after terror attacks; they don't call for a review of botched police actions, for an abolition of Islamophobia, of police violence, of racism, of settler colonialism, leading to spirals of revenge for the loved ones killed by armies—all of which make it easier for ISIS and al-Qaeda and Hamas to transform young

Muslims into mass murderers. At the same time, great replacement theory—amid societal crises, demographic changes, and personal struggles—can transform young Christians into mass murderers.

Racism is suicidal—for everyone. So is empowering dictators. Perhaps that's why José Antonio Kast keeps ignoring the journalist's question about Augusto Pinochet.

CHAPTER 34

Tea Together

Instead of discussing Pinochet at the debate, José Antonio Kast picks up a folded Cuban flag with writing on it. Cubans had planned a large demonstration for today, to protest against the government of Miguel Díaz-Canel. But police and security agents surrounded the homes of organizers to prevent them from leaving to lead the demonstration. The Cuban economy has been devastated by tightened U.S. sanctions and the COVID-19 pandemic, which has had catastrophic effects on the island's tourism. Many Cubans are enduring food scarcity, waiting in hours-long lines for food that they are not guaranteed to receive by the time their turn arrives.

Kast acts as if he cares about the plight of Cubans (when there are hungry Chileans too). He lets the large Cuban flag unfurl to the ground. He holds it up. "I want to show this flag and tell all the Cuban people that we are with them, that at some point there will be freedom for each one of you," he says.

The political stunt evokes unsaid messages. Kast, it is implied, is a defender of freedom. His prime opponent, Gabriel Boric, on the other hand, is coming to replace Chile's capitalist democracy with a Cuban-style communist dictatorship. The silent message: electing Boric will lead to Chileans waiting in long lines for food. In fact,

unlike Cuba's dictator, Boric is a democratic socialist. Democratic socialists desire anti-capitalist democracy.

It was, in fact, Kast who admired Chile's notorious dictator, Pinochet. He even thought the feeling would have been mutual: "If he were alive, he would have voted for me," Kast beamed during the 2017 presidential campaign. "We would have had tea together."

Many great replacement politicians in Latin America openly admire, routinely defend, or have personal connections to the most ruthless dictators of the twentieth century. These politicians usually defend these dictators—assume their strongman mantle—rather than orchestrate distance. The father of Argentina's vice president, Victoria Villarruel, participated in a military operation that kidnapped and murdered thousands of civilians. He spent years at a base where the military dictatorship that dominated Argentina from 1976 to 1983 detained, tortured, and killed dissidents. Before assuming the vice presidency in 2023, Villarruel founded a "center for legal studies on terrorism and its victims" that, according to *Al Jazeera,* "uses human-rights rhetoric to shift attention from the dictatorship to the victims of left-wing 'terror' attacks." She visited the imprisoned Jorge Rafael Videla, Argentina's military dictator from 1976 to 1981, before he died in 2013.

In Guatemala, the military general Efraín Ríos Montt staged a coup and established a conventional dictatorship in 1982. His troops massacred Indigenous Maya in the mountains on the pretext that they were supporting the guerrillas warring against his dictatorship (and its ally, the United Fruit Company). In 2013, a court in Guatemala convicted Ríos Montt of genocide and crimes against humanity, only for his conviction to be overturned. He died during the retrial. All the while, his most ardent defender was his daughter, Zury Ríos. As a member of Guatemala's congress, Ríos pushed for amnesty "to end the persecution of our war veterans," as one ally described it. In 2017, the old guard of military families threw their support behind Ríos and her new Valor party, with Ríos repeatedly

running for president. Pressure from this party has led to Guatemala's educators—and perhaps journalists—teaching less and less about the genocidal violence of Guatemala's military dictatorship.

Another daughter of a military dictator who has long had her eye on the presidency is Keiko Fujimori Higuchi, of Peru's Popular Force. In 2021, after losing in her third attempt to become president, she baselessly claimed election fraud. Her father, Alberto Fujimori, the son of immigrants from Japan, was Peru's military dictator from 1992 to 2000.

—

Recognizing that Kast has dodged his question on Pinochet, Valenzuela cuts in. "Why did you want to govern with people who do not think the same way as Pinochet?" Valenzuela asks again. His roundabout way of linking Kast to Pinochet, assuming Kast could only work with people like Pinochet.

Kast was seven years old in September 1973, when "los crímenes de Paine"—the crimes of Paine—took place, in which Pinochet henchmen engaged in the mass killing and torture of laborers in Paine, Chile. Some of the laborers were transported in trucks owned by Michael Kast to a police station, where they were tortured, and ultimately to a field where they were shot and killed. A survivor identified sixteen-year-old Christian Kast as being present for the torture of captured laborers. Christian Kast now runs the family restaurant business. His brother José Antonio is his neighbor. Their Nazi father died in 2014 at age ninety.

Michael Kast's oldest child, Miguel, received his master's degree in economics at the University of Chicago. He became one of the Chicago Boys, the group of economists trained by Milton Friedman. Pinochet appointed Miguel Kast as president of the Central Bank of Chile in 1982, a year and a half before Miguel died of cancer.

Wherever they went, the Chicago Boys promoted cutting public spending, deregulating markets, breaking the back of unions, lowering trade barriers, and privatizing the public sector from utilities to education. Tested first in the 1970s in Global South countries like Chile, these neoliberal policies made their way to most countries by the century's end. These policies—branded as "trickle-down economics"—made possible the flood of wealth that has rushed up to the super-rich in recent decades.

At a time when a growing mass of people are turning anti-capitalist, great replacement politicians defend capitalism while masquerading as defending the workers against the elites. But the great replacement politicians are no more pro-worker than the National Socialist German Workers' Party was. The Nazi Party actually destroyed unions and propped up big business.

Pinochet directed the drafting of a new constitution for Chile, which went into effect in 1981. A national referendum in 1988 would determine whether he would receive another eight-year term. Pinochet probably believed he had terrorized the population into submission. He had not. When the referendum was held in October 1988, 56 percent of Chileans courageously voted no. An elected president arrived in 1990, but Pinochet's constitution remained.

Kast does not want to talk about any of this.

CHAPTER 35

Destroy Our Country

Kast sidesteps the Pinochet question yet again. "We have many things that unite us. A sense of homeland unites us," he says. "We are united by freedom of conscience, education, freedom to undertake private property, freedom of opinion, freedom of the press." All believers in freedom "will finally end up positioning ourselves to confront those who want to destroy our country."

Valenzuela cuts in again. "We are going to talk about that issue," he says, pointing his pen at Kast. "But you know you put the Pinochet issue on the agenda, right?"

Kast was once a member of the Unión Demócrata Independiente (Independent Democratic Union, or UDI), founded by a Pinochet ally in 1983. The UDI hovered as the leading political party in the Chilean Chamber of Deputies between 2010 and 2014, after the Great Recession. The party's popularity faded in 2015 when bank executives at Banco Penta were formally charged with using fake receipts to evade taxes and make illegal campaign donations to the UDI. Héctor Concha Marambio, a Penta Group executive who was convicted for receiving millions in the scheme, donated $2 million to Kast's campaign. Other super-wealthy donors have also financed Kast. Carlos Cristián Cox Vial, the director of the real estate firm Invernova, contributed $10 million.

Kast formed his own party after resigning from the UDI in protest—because the UDI had begun to turn on…Pinochet, as the rest of the world already had. But like Michael Kast and thousands of other Nazi officials, Pinochet escaped conviction. Though indicted in the late 1990s, Pinochet never stood trial for his crimes against humanity before he died on Human Rights Day (of all days) in 2006.

—

Kast, Boric, and the other four presidential candidates on the debate stage are running to replace one of the most despised politicians in Chile: President Sebastián Piñera. Kast and Boric's respective political rises and Piñera's political downfall commenced on October 6, 2019. The Piñera government announced a rush-hour fare hike for Santiago's metro system. The hike turned out to be the breaking point in a country of enormous economic inequality—the most unequal country among OECD member states—where half the workers earned less than $550 per month. Thousands of people took to the streets to demonstrate against the fare hike, low pensions, and lack of public services. Two weeks after the mass demonstrations began, more than one million Chileans assembled for a nonviolent demonstration at Santiago's Plaza Italia. To the rhythms of banging pots and pans, "CHILE WOKE UP" in the largest demonstration in Chilean history.

President Piñera responded by declaring Chile to be "at war with a powerful, implacable enemy." Piñera wasted no time sending 20,000 Chilean troops into the streets to quell the demonstrations. Boric had been a prominent critic of Piñera's violent police crackdowns and helped negotiate the deal to end these demonstrations: an agreement to trash Pinochet's constitution and write a new one for Chile.

All the while, Kast characterized the demonstrators as "terrorists." (So did *Wall Street Journal* columnist Mary Anastasia

O'Grady several years later.) Kast named the demonstrators "anti-patriots" and looters. In 2021, Kast campaigned on enhancing the power of Pinochet's old anti-terrorism law. He proposed establishing a permanent national security committee that would meet weekly at the presidential palace with the sole aim to "fight against terrorism, drug trafficking and crime."

—

Big business's candidate, Sebastián Sichel, wears a blue-gray blazer and a crisp white dress shirt, the top button unfastened, no tie. Sichel agrees with Kast. "I share what José Antonio Kast says, that the main enemy is violence in Chile." Later, Sichel slams Boric for his willingness to "negotiate with terrorists in Araucanía who have weapons and…threaten…the rule of law."

Since 2001, Chilean officials have prosecuted Mapuche people as "terrorists" for resisting encroachments onto their ancestral lands in Araucanía. The Mapuche are Indigenous inhabitants of the Southern Cone. Spanish colonizers arrived in 1541. The Mapuche have been resisting settler colonialism ever since. In 2017 and 2018, the United Nations and Amnesty International advised Chilean authorities to stop deploying Pinochet's anti-terrorism law to criminalize the Mapuche people.

Across time and place, settler colonial states like the United States, Israel, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Chile have engaged in the genocide of Indigenous peoples while taking their ancestral lands in the name of self-defense. Resistance—both nonviolent and violent—by Indigenous peoples is defined by these colonizers as "terrorism." The colonizers have articulated a zero-sum story needed to justify waging their wars of dispossession. Otherwise, their people would have fallen victim to the "merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions," as Thomas Jefferson

wrote in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Jefferson accused the "present King of Great Britain" of inciting "domestic insurrections amongst us" and endeavoring "to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers" against Americans.

This conspiracy theory of British rulers inciting Indigenous (and enslaved Black) "savages" to destroy White American settlers proved to be the original White genocide theory. In the twenty-first century, White genocide theorists have reincarnated the "savage" in the "terrorist." They have recast the prototypical savage "terrorist" as Muslim, especially in North America, Western Europe, Israel, and India. Islamophobic Americans have treated every Muslim American as a terrorist. Islamophobic Israelis have rendered every Palestinian a terrorist. Islamophobic Hindus have deemed every Muslim Indian a terrorist. This is how they justify the genocides, police violence, mass shootings, mass incarceration, and round-the-clock surveillance of Muslims: as a form of national security, as self-defense.

Kast presents himself on the campaign trail as the ultimate protector of White people in Chile. "What I am going to do is to dedicate myself, body and soul, to fight crime, drug trafficking, and terrorism and to use all available resources and all the strengths of our police forces to pursue, judge, and punish these crimes and make Chile a calm, peaceful, and free place again," he says.

This is his message on the debate stage.

CHAPTER 36

Two Dads

It is Constanza Santa María's turn to lead a debate segment. "I want to show you all this book." The face of Chile's public television network, TVN, holds up a picture book titled *NICOLÁS tiene 2 Papás.* Television viewers see a book cover depicting a young boy standing between two men, holding their hands. *Nicolás Has Two Dads* is authored by psychologist Leslie Nicholls and journalist Ramón Gómez. It was Chile's first children's book about a same-sex-led family when published in 2014.

This book "was distributed in some kindergartens and was controversial," Santa María explains, continuing to hold up the book. The camera zooms in.

Santa María puts the book down and asks another candidate about it before turning to José Antonio Kast.

"Would you deliver this book or one of this type for the preschool education curriculum?" she asks.

"I opposed the delivery of that book…. I am not in favor of delivering those books where the parents do not want them to be delivered…. Parents must have the right…to choose the educational project they want for their children," Kast responds.

In Hungary in 2020, Viktor Orbán's government banned same-sex couples from adopting children and banned transgender Hungarians from legally changing their gender identity. "You can't

mobilize masses with fear of migration anymore, because hardly any refugees come to Hungary," political scientist András Bozóki observed. "That's why Orbán now resorts to an identity issue like radical homophobia." In 2021, Orbán's government banned sharing with minors any educational and media content pertaining to homosexuality or gender identity. Hungary's ban became a model for Florida's Don't Say Gay law in 2022. The Florida law prohibited "classroom discussion about sexual orientation or gender identity in certain grade levels."

Like Florida's Governor Ron DeSantis, Orbán framed gay teachers—or teachers that assign literature on the gay experience—as pedophiles "grooming" children. In fact, alongside its ban on talking to minors about homosexuality, Orbán's government established a searchable database of convicted pedophiles in Hungary. (In April 2023, Hungarian President Katalin Novák, who was handpicked by Orbán, pardoned the former deputy director of a state-run children's home who had been convicted of covering up sexual abuse of boys in his care. Minister of Justice Judit Varga signed off on the pardon. When the public learned about this hypocrisy the following year, Orbán orchestrated distance and approved the resignations of Novák and Varga—the only two women serving in top posts in his government—who inevitably took the blame. By the way, Orbán's Hungary stopped funding and accrediting gender studies degrees in 2018, effectively banning Hungarian universities from offering the discipline.)

DeSantis presented Florida's Don't Say Gay law as a counter to "woke gender ideology," a catchall great replacement term for queer and feminist ideas. In El Salvador in February 2024, President Nayib Bukele, who opposes abortion and same-sex marriage, announced his opposition to "gender ideology" in the country's schools and colleges. Almost immediately, Bukele's minister of education, José Mauricio Pineda, posted on X: "Confirmed: we have removed all use

or trace of gender ideology from public schools." El Salvador has one of the highest femicide rates in Latin America.

—

Santa María dialogues with another candidate before turning to Boric.

"Candidate Gabriel Boric, would you include this book in the preschool curriculum?" Santa María asks.

"Of course, we believe in comprehensive sex education," Boric says. He shares that he gave a talk on *Nicolás Has Two Dads* in the Magallanes region.

"Candidate Marco Enríquez-Ominami," Santa María asks, "what is your response to the inclusion of the book?"

"The state is not to judge, it is to protect not only that book. I also propose that…we protect women in all their dimensions," the Progressive Party leader says rather forcefully, gesturing with his hands. But "one candidate here…proposes to eliminate the gender agenda," he continues, referring to Kast's opposition to fighting homophobia and sexism. "We are in 2021; that is why I am so vehement…. It is not only democracy that is threatened. What are our sons and daughters going to learn?"

"José Antonio Kast, would you like to respond?" Santa María asks.

"No one could ever say here that I have discriminated against anyone," Kast replies. He believes "a single mother, a single father, a single grandparent, a gay man, a lesbian can educate their children well."

Whether they are called out on their queerphobic, or sexist, or racist ideas and policies, the denial of great replacement politicians is the same. Kast sounds like Finns Party leader and Deputy Prime Minister of Finland Riikka Purra when she wrote, in 2023, "I have never supported discrimination based on skin color or ethnic

background." She said this after a 2008 blog surfaced in which she wrote about shooting immigrants, about "spitting on beggars and beating [N-word] children today in Helsinki," about being "so full of hate and pure rage." Kast sounds like Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi when he visited the White House, in June 2023, and told reporters: "In India's democratic values, there's absolutely no discrimination neither on basis of caste, creed, or age, or any kind of geographic location."

—

Six days after the debate, Kast earned the most votes in the first round of the Chilean presidential election. Boric came in second. Neither candidate secured a majority of the vote. Before the runoff, Chileans learned that Kast's father was a Nazi. Kast lost the runoff. Boric became the thirty-seventh president of Chile in 2022.

But Kast's political career did not end. He orchestrated distance from his father, just as Marine Le Pen orchestrated distance from hers. They positioned themselves—unlike their fathers—as "not racist," as not neo-Nazis. And they proclaimed that racism against peoples of color is over.

LINK 4

Racism against peoples of color is over.

↓

Bigotry against historically disadvantaged groups is over.

//

Nigel Farage

United Kingdom

CHAPTER 37

GB News

"**There's a stir** in this conference hall, and it's not caused by me." Andrew Pierce, a veteran political commentator, smirks as he begins a new segment of his live broadcast.

Pierce sits on a small white stage in the foyer of Manchester Central. This convention complex sits in the center of a city known as the world's first industrialized city: Manchester, England. The event today is the Conservative Party's annual convention. Party members, known as Tories, are walking back and forth or dining together. It is the morning of October 2, 2023.

Pierce is broadcasting for GB News, a television and radio channel that aspires to be—perhaps has already become—the Fox News of the United Kingdom. GB News is co-owned by British hedge fund manager Paul Marshall, worth an estimated £875 million (or $1.1 billion). Marshall has spent a fair amount of time on social media. Muslims "came to conquer and replace British people"—a post Marshall liked. Another post Marshall liked: "The native European population is losing patience with fake refugee invaders."

GB News began airing in 2021. *The Guardian* described GB News as "the channel that loves to whip up anger, where hosts promote conspiracy theories and scaremongering."

—

Pierce has been a regular presenter on GB News for more than a year before the Tory conference while also maintaining a column in the *Daily Mail,* a sensationalist tabloid. Days before, Pierce video-essayed for the *Daily Mail* about the UK's "immigration system," which he described as being "broken beyond repair" and "an international problem." Pierce is gay, but opposed to same-sex marriage. Pierce rejects the notion that gay people should be able to flee countries where homosexuality is criminalized. "I'm gay," he said. "I can say it: It is ridiculous. We do not need extra protection because we're gay."

Pierce believes he "can say it"—the homophobic idea—while denying he is homophobic because, apparently, a gay person can't be homophobic. Just like, supposedly, a person of color can't be racist toward peoples of color, or a woman can't be sexist toward a woman, or a Jewish person can't be antisemitic. This is the other side of a more familiar denialism: White people who say they can't be racist because they have a Black friend or Black spouse or Black client or Black co-worker or Black neighbor or Black child. Trump said he can't be racist, since he has "so many Black friends." Denying bigotry based on one's *own* identity or the identity of people one is close to is what I call *proximity denial.*

It is assumed that the more *proximate* one is to the identity subjected to the bigotry, the less likely it is that the person is bigoted. No one is more proximate than the subject of the bigotry. (And the opposite is assumed to be true: the less proximate one is to the identity or the people subjected to the bigotry, the more likely it is that the person is bigoted. The White person in the all-White town is assumed to more likely be racist than the White person with Black neighbors.)

It is also assumed that the more *proximate* one is to the identity that is subjected to the bigotry, the more knowledgeable one is about that bigotry. Hence, it is assumed that every Black person is automatically an expert on anti-Black racism. This assumption rests

on a misdefinition of racism as an interpersonal matter. It is assumed every Black person can clearly see whether anti-Black racism exists in their nation based on whether they personally experience it or not.

Proximity denial is a ruthless weaponization of what scholars call "lived experience." A person can indeed expertly share their own *individual* experience dealing with, let's say, a racist idea, practice, or policy. Lived experience is a highly valuable complement to structural expertise: those in-group and out-group researchers who are trained to intensely study how the power structures of bigotry impact particular groups. Instead of using one's lived experience to complement structural expertise and reveal bigotry, though, proximity denial weaponizes lived experience to conceal structural expertise and bigotry. The Black great replacement politician who declares, from his personal experience, that racism does not exist in his country. The female great replacement politician who declares, from her personal experience, that sexism does not exist in her country. The gay great replacement theorist, like Andrew Pierce, who declares, from his personal experience, that homophobia does not exist in his country. And then they dismiss lived experience and structural expertise that proves otherwise. Which makes these gay voices, Black voices, female voices valuable spokespersons for great replacement parties. Their job: to routinely deny the bigotry in their nations and parties.

CHAPTER 38

Proximity Denial

The spread of great replacement theory in an era when almost all people want to believe they are "not racist" presents opportunities for peoples of color increasingly starved of opportunities due to, well, racism. The political, economic, and cultural opportunities are numerous: Running for office in great replacement parties. Leading great replacement parties. Defending great replacement parties in the media. Being a prop for cameras at the campaign rallies and bill signings of great replacement politicians. Fame. Money. Positions of power. It is all available for peoples of color willing to engage in proximity denial.

It is the ultimate "grift," as journalist Clay Cane has termed Black Republican opportunists who make a career out of downplaying White racism. Not coincidentally, to cover up these racist Black grifters they platform, great replacement theorists label antiracist Black intellectuals as "grifters," accusing us of making up racism to supposedly capitalize on White guilt. To them, none of us are trained or employed to study, report, and teach about racism. They seem rather aggrieved when antiracist Black intellectuals are paid, or paid well. One of the oldest racist ideas dating back to slavery is that Black people should not be paid, or paid well, for our labor. Recalling the significant compensation bestowed on Black slaves who outed freedom revolts, these great replacement

theorists seem to believe Black people should only be compensated, or compensated well, when defending White racism.

I've been called a "grifter" even as my scholarship appeals to the intelligence of people of all races, not guilt or shame. I remember when Reverend Bernice King, the youngest child of Martin Luther King Jr., pointed out how a candidate for the U.S. Senate misrepresented her father. The candidate accused her of hailing from a group of "race politics profiteers."

The more money these great replacement theorists can report antiracist Black intellectuals are purportedly making, the more envy and jealousy they can generate. The more envy these great replacement theorists can generate among Black people, the more antiracist Black intellectuals are positioned as selling Black people out. The more jealousy great replacement theorists can generate among White people, the more antiracist Black intellectuals are positioned as taking from White livelihoods, like every other replacer. It has been striking to witness and personally experience people who identify as "centrist" and "leftist" join with people classified as "far right" to frame antiracist Black intellectuals as "grifters," sanctioned by the liberal ruling class. This reflects an understudied form of anti-Black interpersonal racism. Two of the strongest anti-Black emotions in reaction to Black achievements are extreme jealousy among White peers and heightened envy among Black peers, leading to violent and nonviolent takedowns of Black people.

Not all people of color who are spokespersons or leaders of great replacement parties are actual grifters. Not all people of color expressing great replacement theory are grifters. Some are probably true believers. Whether true believers or grifters, they pretty much stick to the same script of proximity denial.

Talking point 1: Their success in the great replacement party proves that racism does not exist there. "If Vox were racist or had a problem with foreigners, I could not be here," said Ignacio Garriga,

a Black member of Catalonia's parliament, defending Vox, Spain's most prominent great replacement party.

Talking point 2: Things have changed. "I grew up in the fifties and sixties, and I can tell you what real racism was like," said Ben Carson, who served as Trump's secretary for Housing and Urban Development. "The world is very different here in America right now." South Carolina's Senator Tim Scott evoked the same message on *The View* on June 5, 2023. "The fact of the matter is that progress in America is palpable," he said. "It can be measured in generations. I look back at the fact that my grandfather, born in 1921 in Salley, South Carolina—when he was on a sidewalk, a White person was coming, he had to step off and not make eye contact." If Scott's Black grandfather complained about having to step off sidewalks and not make eye contact, then Scott's ideological grandfather likely told him progress had been palpable, because chattel slavery no longer existed in South Carolina. During a Fox News interview in January 2024, then-U.S. presidential candidate Nikki Haley admitted, "I know I faced racism when I was growing up. But I can tell you, today is a lot better than it was then."

Talking point 3: Racism does not exist in the nation based on their own personal experiences and accomplishments. "I was the first minority female governor in the country. I am telling you America is not a racist country," Haley declared at a town hall in Marion, Iowa. Bertrand Ndongo, known by some as "Vox's Black Guy," argued that he himself had not experienced racism in the ten years he'd lived in Spain, so the country isn't racist. And then there is Mark Robinson, a Black Republican who opposed curriculum changes in North Carolina to include more history on Black Americans and Native Americans. He pointed to Obama's presidency and his own election as North Carolina lieutenant governor in 2020 as proof that "the system of government that we have in this nation is not systemically racist."

North Carolina Republicans nominated Robinson to run for governor in 2024 despite his track record, which included quoting Adolf Hitler in a Facebook post in 2014. Three years after that post, Robinson raged about being "sick of seeing and hearing people STILL talk about Nazis and Hitler and how evil and manipulative they were. NEWS FLASH PEOPLE, THE NAZIS (National Socialist) ARE GONE! We did away with them."

Did we?

"I'm a black NAZI!" Robinson posted on the message board of a pornography website. And: "Mein Kampf is a good read." And: "Slavery is not bad. Some people need to be slaves. I wish they would bring it [slavery] back. I would certainly buy a few." Weeks before his unsuccessful gubernatorial election in 2024, CNN reported these comments. During the uproar, Robinson compared himself to Clarence Thomas, whom Anita Hill credibly accused of sexual harassment in 1991. Before spending decades on the U.S. Supreme Court denying racism, Thomas presented himself as the victim of "a high-tech lynching." Mark Robinson said, "Well, it looks like Mark Robinson is, too." For these racist Black spokespersons of great replacement parties, the only Black individuals who are victims of racism are…them.

Most crucially for proximity denial, all individuals of color are imagined to be *experts* on racism. In 2020, Prime Minister Boris Johnson selected nine persons to form a commission investigating the causes of racial and ethnic disparities in the UK. Eight of the nine members Johnson selected were either Black or Asian Britons. None had the training, expertise, and experience to credibly diagnose racism. One had some experience overseeing racial research: Samir Shah, as chair of Runnymede Trust, a racial justice think tank.

The others: A space scientist. A businessman. A retired police superintendent. An education professional. An economist. A journalist. The lone White person on the commission was the CEO

of a trust that operated more than thirty schools. It was akin to populating a commission to investigate an emerging disease with hardly any medical researchers, but instead mostly with patients known for denying diagnoses of the disease.

Perhaps since they were out of their areas of expertise, the nine commissioners Johnson selected added two more members. One was Kunle Olulode, who had experience working as a union organizer and an advocate for Black and Asian and immigrant communities.

Johnson appointed Tony Sewell, a Black education consultant, as the chair of the commission. "Put simply we no longer see a Britain where the system is deliberately rigged against ethnic minorities," Sewell wrote in a foreword to the commission's report, which was published in March 2021. "The impediments and disparities do exist, they are varied, and ironically very few of them are directly to do with racism," he added. "The evidence shows that geography, family influence, socio-economic background, culture and religion have more significant impact on life chances than the existence of racism."

—

The denial of racism by some people of color echoes the denial from White great replacement politicians. After the police murder of George Floyd prompted antiracist demonstrations around the world, Portugal's André Ventura, leader of the great replacement party Chega! (Enough!), organized a counterdemonstration in Lisbon where White marchers chanted, "Portugal is not racist!" Former Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro said, "Racism is rare in Brazil." Former U.S. Vice President Mike Pence said, "It is past time for America to discard the left-wing myth of systemic racism."

All this denial has indoctrinated supporters of great replacement parties. Nine out of ten Finns Party supporters told surveyors that

"racism is being taken seriously enough in Finland." Meanwhile, a study found that more Black people in Finland report experiencing racist violence or harassment than Black people in any other EU country.

Racism against peoples of color is a growing problem across the world. And great replacement theorists have grown this problem in the twenty-first century by telling the zero-sum story, by ignoring racial data, by misdefining racism—the first three links in the chain of ideas. All to promote the fourth link: the idea that racism against peoples of color is no longer a problem. Hardly any great replacement politician expressed this link quite like Andrew Pierce's guest on GB News.

CHAPTER 39

Mania

The stir in the convention hall is "caused," Andrew Pierce continues his live opening, "by the presence at the Tory Party conference, I think for the first time in almost thirty years, of our very own Nigel Farage."

Farage, a longtime politician, is also a presenter for GB News. He sits across from Pierce on a stool. Farage is wearing a blue suit, white dress shirt, and pink tie. Hands folded in his lap, Farage beams during his introduction.

It is the same grin Farage sported in a forty-five-second montage he'd posted earlier that morning. "Lights, Camera, Action!" Farage captioned his X post to depict his arrival at the Conservative Party conference. He wanted his followers to see his presence creating a swarm of interest—of selfies, of conversations. What the hosts of *Good Morning Britain* called "Farage Mania."

Farage's heavily edited montage primarily depicted his interactions with young people, women, and Black people.

"No problem," Farage said after taking a selfie with a Black teenager wearing a school uniform.

"I want to show my mum," she said, chuckling, as Farage laughed in the montage's first interaction.

The last interaction was Farage talking with two serious-looking young White men with dark blond hair. "This party, the Conservative

Party, needs to work out what it is," Farage said, using his hands for emphasis. The two young White men nodded in agreement.

The montage evoked proximity denial for his largely White male followers: their leader is not sexist or racist, the video suggested, since he can be seen smiling widely in selfies and giving his customary thumbs-up to Black people and women.

—

Pierce extends his right arm to introduce Farage, who'd topped *The New Statesman*'s "Right Power List" put out on the eve of the conference.

Farage and Pierce are clearly chummy. Which wasn't always a given.

In 2014, Pierce falsely reported in the *Daily Mail* that Farage and his then–second wife, Kirsten Farage, had begun their "torrid affair" while Farage was still married to his first wife. The *Daily Mail* paid damages and legal costs to Kirsten Farage following a defamation claim. Farage has four children, two with each of his wives. He explained his opposition to maternity leave: "Maybe it's because I've got so many women pregnant over the years." Farage later went on to date Laure Ferrari, a French political operative.

Ferrari is affiliated with the tiny great replacement party Debout la France (France Arise), founded by Nicolas Dupont-Aignan. Ferrari gloated that Marine Le Pen's "National Front bases many of their ideas on us, not the other way around." In 2017, Dupont-Aignan endorsed Le Pen for president. "I am not for zero immigration, but for the consideration of this creeping replacement," he said.

Farage has not been for zero migration, either. Farage once acknowledged "my ancestors were migrants—technically, asylum seekers. One side of my family were French Huguenot refugees," fleeing religious persecution from Catholic France. The English word "refugee" actually originated from the French word *réfugié.* It

originally referred to the Protestant Huguenots who fled France in the aftermath of Catholics murdering roughly 8,000 of them in the 1572 Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The migration largely ebbed in 1598, when the Edict of Nantes granted Protestant Huguenots religious toleration and civil rights in France. But migrations began again when the edict was revoked in 1685. To be a White Protestant—or a Catholic—in the twenty-first century in England likely means being a descendant of a person demeaned and pushed out of their homes in the past due to their religious beliefs.

These Protestant Huguenots mostly escaped on small boats from northeast France. They crossed the English Channel and disembarked in southern England. The British government provided some refugees with a little bit of relief and, for the most part, allowed them to practice their religion. Huguenot communities and churches emerged in southeastern English towns like Canterbury, Faversham, Maidstone, and Sandwich. As they grew in number, Farage's familial ancestors faced pushback from Farage's ideological ancestors.

Take a British parliamentary debate in 1709 on whether to naturalize Protestant Huguenots, related to a bill passed and quickly repealed. A circulated paper objected that if "multitudes of aliens" were "to settle here" they "might endanger our ancient polity and government, and, by frequent intermarriages, go a great way to blot out and extinguish the English race." But the French Huguenots remained. They did not replace the English "race." They joined the English nationality—as immigrants normally do. Perhaps one of those French Huguenots had a drink at the pub of John London, Britain's first known Black voter. The loser of a Westminster by-election in 1749 contested the vote of the "blackamoor," as a witness for the sore loser called London. After London proved that Bury Saint Edmunds—a town not far from Cambridge—was his birthplace, his vote remained, as did the French Huguenots, in

England. And today, one in six Britons, like Farage, has a French Huguenot ancestor.

Not only is Farage's French girlfriend an immigrant, but his second wife, Kirsten Farage, was a German immigrant. A journalist asked Farage why he opposed Romanian migrants, but not German ones like his wife. "I think you know the difference," Farage replied.

This Nazi and neo-Nazi refusal to level White ethnic groups prevents European continental unity. These *Eurosceptic* great replacement politicians view the European Union as facilitating the great replacement. And the United Kingdom's most influential Eurosceptic is also Europe's most influential Eurosceptic: Nigel Farage.

CHAPTER 40

Eurosceptic

"**Nigel, good morning,**" Pierce greets.

"Good morning!" Farage responds, smiling widely.

Nearly every great replacement politician in Europe is a Eurosceptic like Farage. After all, Renaud Camus did write that the European Union is "largely responsible for the disastrous state of the continent, invaded and occupied by peoples foreign to it."

Not all Eurosceptics are great replacement politicians. Some Eurosceptics are anti-capitalist or anti-austerity or pro-worker. Whether anti-immigrant or anti-capitalist, Eurosceptics oppose increasing the power of the European Union. Or they support withdrawing from the EU altogether. Or they demand the abolition of the EU.

"What is at stake in this election is the continuity of France as a free nation, our existence as a people," Marine Le Pen said at her presidential campaign launch in Lyon in 2017, pushing back against the EU. "The European Union rejects Christian heritage, it is managing population replacement through migration," Viktor Orbán said. Geert Wilders raged that the EU does not "care much about the preservation of the Judeo-Christian culture" or the preservation of "European civilization," which "is the best civilization on earth."

Donald Trump has been a longtime skeptic of a different multinational alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO), founded in 1949 to establish peace after World War II. Its member countries across North America and Europe agreed to retaliate on one another's behalf in the event of war. A similar skepticism shadowed the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), founded in 2008 and modeled after the EU. José Antonio Kast of Chile stated that regional forums "only increase international bureaucracy." When Jair Bolsonaro became president in 2019, he withdrew Brazil from the "totalitarian" UNASUR.

On October 13, 1933, Adolf Hitler announced Nazi Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations. He likely opposed Winston Churchill's "United States of Europe," first proposed on February 15, 1930, a decade before Churchill became the UK's prime minister. Ironically, Churchill envisioned the UK being associated with but not part of the U.S. of Europe.

Hitler did not ally with most European nations. By the end of 1941 Hitler and his collaborators had conquered or occupied Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Yugoslavia, and Greece. While speaking publicly of unity and peace and protection, Nazi Germany transformed conquered European nations. The Nazis seized natural resources, locked predominantly White populations into forced labor, and at times decimated whole towns to make way for German settler colonizers. They rounded up and exterminated Jews, Roma, Slavs, and other "undesirables."

To liberate themselves and their fellow Europeans, Robert Havemann and Anneliese and Georg Groscurth founded an anti-Nazi group called the "European Union." It secretly operated in Berlin in the early 1940s, until the Gestapo crushed it with arrests and executions.

But neo-Nazi politicians in the twenty-first century ignore these short-lived German colonies in Europe as flagrantly as they read Nazi plans for European unity at face value. They misrepresent the

European Union as a Nazi project while covering up the bones of their Euroscepticism in Nazism.

Camus and Le Pen were right: the invasion of Europe did not occur with traditional soldiers. They were wrong about who—or rather what—the invading soldiers have been.

—

Alex Jones is one of the world's most infamous conspiracy theorists. Jones had Nigel Farage on an episode of his show that aired on April 13, 2018. Four days later, families sued Jones for describing the 2012 Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting in Connecticut as a "giant hoax." In that very real tragedy, twenty-year-old Adam Lanza massacred twenty children, six educators, his mother, and himself.

In their exchange, Jones and Farage put forth a different conspiracy theory. "Why is the left allied with radical Islam? Why are they trying to flood" the EU with migrants? Jones asked. "Because they hate Christianity," Farage responded. "They deny, absolutely, our Judeo-Christian culture, which, if you think about it, actually, are the roots completely of our nations and our civilization…. They want to abolish the nation-state…. They want to replace it with the globalist project, and the European Union is the prototype for the new world order."

—

The prehistory of the European Union began with the Treaty of Rome, originally signed by Belgium, West Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Effective January 1, 1958, the treaty established the European Economic Community (EEC), with plans for establishing a common market among the member states, guaranteeing "freedom of movement for persons, services and

capital." Britain announced in July 1961 that it would seek EEC membership.

French President Charles de Gaulle blocked Britain's membership in January 1963. During the eighteen months it was pending, the UK's bid had faced headwinds from the British National Party, co-founded in 1960 by John Tyndall, who later formed the National Socialist Movement on Hitler's birthday in 1962. The League of Empire Loyalists opposed the UK's bid too. This organization had an "avowedly imperial and racist creed employed to resist the dissolution of Empire and the 'conspiracy' against British 'heritage,' " explained historian Robert F. Dewey. The group's primary enemies included communists, Jews, Black people, and international organizations.

The United Kingdom joined the European Economic Community in 1973, along with Denmark and Ireland. The UK held its first-ever national referendum two years later, on whether to remain in the EEC. The UK's National Front urged British voters to leave.

The UK's National Front was founded in 1967, five years before Jean-Marie Le Pen founded France's National Front. One of its slogans: "Make Britain Great Again." The UK's National Front united many different groups renovating Nazism into neo-Nazism, including the Racial Preservation Society and the League of Empire Loyalists. The National Front "claimed that the European Economic Community was a threat to British sovereignty and part of a Jewish conspiracy for a one-world government," journalist Sean Meleady noted.

The British voted to remain in the European Economic Community. British leaders forged ahead on what became the Single European Act in 1986, the waystation to the EU.

CHAPTER 41

Bruges

Farage keeps his eyes on Pierce. Farage's expression becomes serious when Pierce asks, "When were you last at a Tory conference?"

"Late eighties," the fifty-nine-year-old responds, before remembering that the conference took place in Brighton, in southeast England.

"So Mrs. Thatcher?" Pierce follows up.

Farage last attended the Tory conference as a twenty-four-year-old. On October 14, 1988, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher addressed Farage and the rest of the Tories. Farage probably laughed when Thatcher said, "I spoke recently in Bruges about Britain's views on Europe. It caused a bit of a stir."

Thatcher had spoken three weeks earlier at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. In her speech, Thatcher reveled in saying that "how Europeans explored and colonised—and yes, without apology—civilised much of the world is an extraordinary tale of talent, skill and courage." But to Thatcher, the emerging European Union, with its shared European citizenship, single currency, empowerment of the European Parliament—with all its regulations and reaches—seemed to be undermining what had made Europe great. "Europe will be stronger precisely because it

has France as France, Spain as Spain, Britain as Britain, each with its own customs, traditions and identity," she said.

Neo-Nazis had been opposing European unity for decades. Now they had a powerful champion. But when great replacement politicians ushered neo-Nazi ideas into mainstream discourse, they stripped these ideas of their history and renamed them "conservative" ideas. And the media has usually gone along. But this orchestrated distancing can be revealed through the study of history. If an idea is like a product, then history is like an ingredients label.

Thatcher did not completely turn her back on the incipient European Union. But she turned it enough to inspire people like Farage.

Within five months of the Bruges speech, the Bruges Group had formed to press for the decentralization of Europe. One of the early members of the Bruges Group was Nigel Farage. One of the founders was Alan Sked, an Oxford-trained historian who established the world's largest European studies program at the London School of Economics.

Frustrated about the Bruges Group's lack of independence from the Conservative Party, Sked departed in 1991 and founded the Anti-Federalist League. By then, John Major had replaced Margaret Thatcher as Tory prime minister. After Major signed the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 that created the EU, Farage left the Conservative Party in protest.

But Farage remained a member of the Bruges Group into the twenty-first century. This group is now a factory for great replacement theory. In 2018, a booklet available at a Bruges Group meeting held adjacent to the Tory conference maintained that the growth of Britain's Muslim population was "a deliberate policy to replace one set of voters with another." It condemned "the subversive tenets of cultural Marxism."

CHAPTER 42

Enoch Powell

"**So you are** here for the first time since 1988. My first question is: Are you here to rejoin the Conservative Party?" Pierce asks with a huge smile, gesturing at the camera.

"No!" Farage responds.

After leaving the Tories, Farage joined Sked's Anti-Federalist League. The league operated as the predecessor of the UK Independence Party (UKIP), established in 1993 to run candidates committed to securing a referendum for the UK to leave the EU.

UKIP leaders almost immediately began reaching out to the nation's most outspoken Eurosceptic: Enoch Powell. Powell had urged his fellow Britons to leave the European Economic Community in 1975. He had supported Thatcher's Bruges speech. He was to Farage what Pinochet was to José Antonio Kast: his "political hero."

Powell, a Cambridge-trained professor turned military officer turned politician, wielded great influence in the late twentieth century. Thatcher herself acknowledged, "I have always read Enoch Powell's speeches and articles very carefully."

Powell gave his most inflammatory speech on April 20, 1968. He accused peoples of color of organizing "their members" to battle "against their fellow citizens" and "overawe and dominate" the United Kingdom. "In fifteen or twenty years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man," Powell feared. "Like the

Roman, I seem to see 'the River Tiber foaming with much blood.' " This is how this infamous address became etched in history as the "Rivers of Blood" speech.

He addressed the Conservative Political Centre in his hometown of Birmingham. Powell condemned the Race Relations Act that Parliament was then debating. The law, after it received royal assent in October of that year, made it illegal in Great Britain to refuse employment, public services, or housing to a person based on their race, color, ethnicity, or nationality. Powell argued that Great Britain did not need the act, since racism against peoples of color did not exist. Powell framed the person of color in Great Britain as "the immigrant." He imagined that "the Commonwealth immigrant came to Britain as a full citizen, to a country which knew no discrimination." Any "drawbacks" these people of color experienced was not due to "law" or "public policy" but "personal circumstances and accidents."

—

This was not a new idea, nor exclusive to the UK. American politicians have been castigating antiracist efforts by arguing there was "no discrimination" ever since they declared independence from Great Britain. When pressed to join the abolitionist movement in 1785, George Washington said, "It would be dangerous to make a frontal attack on a prejudice which is beginning to decrease." By 1810, the enslaved U.S. population had more than doubled.

In overturning the Civil Rights Act of 1875, Supreme Court Justice Joseph Bradley judged that racism had ebbed and Black people could now "be protected in the ordinary modes by which other men's rights are protected." The ruling paved the legal way for the rise of Jim Crow segregation and the wholesale disenfranchisement of Black voters.

On February 4, 1899, Indiana Congressman Edgar D. Crumpacker introduced an unsuccessful bill to reduce the congressional representation of Southern states with new constitutions that disenfranchised Black voters. Alabama Congressman Oscar W. Underwood opposed Crumpacker's bill as an expression of "the bitterness of civil strife," which "has passed." Underwood led the campaign to encourage White Alabama men to ratify Alabama's new state constitution in 1901, written only by White men, with the expressed purpose to "establish white supremacy in this State."

In 1906, Georgia Senator Augustus O. Bacon accused the writers of a bill oriented toward equalizing accommodations for Black and White train passengers as stirring up "strife between the races." Before his death in 1914, Bacon wrote in his will that he had "only the kindest feelings" for Black people. He bequeathed land for a Whites-only park in Macon, Georgia, to be named "Baconsfield."

—

A young Nigel Farage first met Enoch Powell in the early 1980s while attending Dulwich College, a boarding school in South London. Powell "dazzled me for once into awestruck silence," Farage wrote in his autobiography.

Farage did not dazzle his teachers. In 1981, a group of teachers objected to Farage's appointment as a prefect, with the authority to discipline students. One described how, "at a Combined Cadet Force (CCF) camp organised by the college, Farage and others had marched through a quiet Sussex village very late at night shouting Hitler-youth songs." Farage has denied this allegation.

Six weeks prior, the Brixton uprising occurred, in which Black youth violently demonstrated against police brutality, poverty, and unemployment. More specifically, they rose up in anger over a house fire—suspected to be a racist arson attack—that killed

thirteen Black youth in New Cross on January 18, 1981. Many Black people in Britain suspected members of the National Front of perpetrating the arson.

Black youth clashed with the predominantly White police force. Farage saw it all. The police used the grounds of Dulwich College as an operational base. Police attacks were defended in Parliament by none other than Enoch Powell, who served as a member of Parliament from 1950 to 1987.

On March 23, 1994, as Farage, twenty-nine, was running as a UKIP candidate, he asked the elderly Powell for his endorsement. Powell declined. Weeks later, UKIP founder Alan Sked entreated Powell to become a UKIP candidate. Several UKIP members continued to reach out until Powell's death in 1998. But if you let Sked tell the history, his party was a "non-racist party" and "immigration was never an issue." Farage made his position clear: "I would never say that Powell was racist in any way at all. Had we listened to him, we would have much better race relations now than we have got."

UKIP desperately needed a boost from Powell. In the 1997 elections, UKIP ran 197 candidates. All lost. Only one UKIP candidate won more than 5 percent of the vote: Nigel Farage. After UKIP's electoral wipeout, Farage and his allies pushed Sked out of leadership and out of the party.

Farage took the helm of UKIP in 2006. Under Farage's leadership, UKIP overtook the British National Party (now in its second iteration, independent of the 1960s party of the same name) as the most dominant great replacement party in the UK. Founded in 1982, the new BNP would become the UK's most popular great replacement party in the 1980s and 1990s, supplanting the National Front.

Farage orchestrated distance from the British National Party. "I spoke directly to their voters and I said, 'Look, if you support an outright racist agenda you keep voting for the BNP,'" Farage said.

" 'But, if you're doing it and holding your nose doing it, don't vote for them, vote for me. We've got a non-racist, non-sectarian agenda.' And I think nobody in British politics has done more in modern times to get rid of the far right than I have."

The Conservative Party tried to ward off UKIP. It backfired. In a study of the electoral successes and failures of 178 political parties in fourteen European countries between 1984 and 2006, political scientists Catherine E. de Vries and Sara Hobolt found that "when a voter is more Eurosceptic, the odds of voting for a challenger" party like UKIP "versus a mainstream government party increase." UKIP has operated as what de Vries and Hobolt term an "issue entrepreneur," mobilizing "a previously non-salient issue" and benefiting electorally. The more that parties which were originally not anti-EU adopted Eurosceptic positions to prevent Eurosceptic parties from siphoning support, the more politicized the EU issue became. The more politicized the EU issue became, the more polarized a country's electorate became. Other studies demonstrated that politicization and polarization around the European Union has not boosted those parties that adopted Eurosceptic positions to stay popular, but rather those parties that had been Eurosceptic all along. This has been the case with the Conservative Party and UKIP.

Capitalizing on the lingering economic downtown, too, UKIP had its best showing in the mid-2010s. In the 2013 local elections, it earned about a quarter of the votes. The next year, for the 2014 European Parliament elections, it received more votes (27.5 percent) than the Tories (23.9 percent) and the Labour Party (25.4 percent), making Farage and his UKIP "truly household names," as two researchers described it.

Farage remained a household name when he attended the Tory conference in 2023. But he aspired for more than name recognition. He wanted power.

CHAPTER 43

"Stop the Boats"

"I **think that my** presence here highlights the divisions within the party and the battle that will happen, I suspect, after the next general election," Farage tells Pierce at the Tory conference. "I went to the CDO dinner last night, and these are a rebellious group of Tories who feel that the party has become unconservative, undemocratic."

Founded by billionaire Peter Cruddas, the Conservative Democratic Organisation, or CDO, of the Tory Party resembles the House Freedom Caucus of the U.S. Republican Party—that is, an extremist faction of a larger party promoting great replacement theory. Perhaps the most influential voice then in the CDO was UK Home Secretary Suella Braverman. Since 2015, Braverman had been an MP for a constituency in southern England. Black and Brown migrants crossing the English Channel from northeast France on small boats—just as the French Huguenots did—were angering the descendants of French Huguenots, among other Britons. While Britons commonly recognized that French Huguenots fled suffering, they routinely heard from politicians like Braverman and Farage that Black and Brown migrants were not refugees in need of asylum. Braverman and Farage claimed those migrants were coming to live off British taxpayers. Their solution was to call upon the UK's most popular great replacement slogan: "Stop the boats."

Braverman, a daughter of immigrants of Indian origin, gave the most anti-immigrant speech at the Tory conference in 2023. "Now one of the most powerful forces reshaping our world is unprecedented mass migration," she said. Conservatives "have struggled to get illegal immigration under control" because the Labour Party MPs kept blocking them. "And all of them bleating the same incessant accusation: Racist. Racist. Racist. They've always used that smear." Braverman echoed Vivek Ramaswamy, a son of Indian immigrants, when he announced his campaign for U.S. president on February 21, 2023. "There's no greater damnation in modern America than to be *called* a racist," he said.

The neo-Nazi Richard Spencer said, "Racist isn't a descriptive word. It's a pejorative word. It is the equivalent of saying, 'I don't like you.'" Actually, *racist* is a descriptive word when used appropriately. All it does is describe what a person is being in a given moment, even if in the very next moment that same person can be antiracist. Describing people as being racist should be done in the spirit of diagnosis: to heal, not harm, even if the person feels hurt by the diagnosis.

But to grifting spokespersons of color, the term "racist" is used not only to hurt, but to shut down arguments. African American linguist John McWhorter has said of antiracist intellectuals, "A key part of their tool kit is that they call those who disagree with them racists." While campaigning in October 2021 for a U.S. Senate seat in Georgia, Herschel Walker, a Black Republican and former football player, told a group of White people: "When you start arguing with people, the first thing they say is that you're a racist."

—

The Labour Party "will open the borders and then cry racism to anyone who objects," Braverman continued her speech. If the Labour Party wins, "Britain would go properly woke," she warned.

“Those who fail to conform are persecuted. Chased out of their jobs for saying that a man can’t be a woman. Scolded for rejecting that they are beneficiaries of institutional racism.” But the “Conservative government” is “fighting for a Britain that puts you first,” she concluded her speech. “We are on your side.”

Braverman’s speech left the Tory crowd in delirium. Farage probably felt threatened by all the praise.

After interviewing with Pierce, Farage appeared several more times on GB News at the Tory conference. In one appearance, he rushed onto GB News to call Suella Braverman’s speech “the biggest failure of this conference so far.”

CHAPTER 44

Middle Management

Farage appeared again on GB News after Prime Minister Rishi Sunak's conference speech on October 4, 2023. Farage sat at a news desk, wearing a blue suit, white shirt, and checkered blue tie. He seemed much less threatened, much more restrained in his criticism than he was after Braverman's address.

Farage described Sunak's speech in the way people often describe the "model minority" of Asian immigrants. "I think he's got a very high intellect," Farage said. "But is he an inspiring leader, or just a very good accountant? I have to say, I wasn't satisfied by what he had to say today."

At the time, Sunak was forty-three years old, like Braverman. Both were the children of Indian parents who immigrated to the UK in the 1960s from former British colonies. So too was Priti Patel, home secretary under Boris Johnson, who in July 2021 announced the Nationality and Borders Bill. Passed into law in April 2022, it allowed for "off-shore processing" of asylum seekers.

That same month, Prime Minister Boris Johnson provided details about what "off-shore processing" would entail. He announced that Rwanda would take in such immigrants, though that plan would eventually be blocked by the UK Supreme Court. During this announcement, Johnson reveled in the UK's "proud history of welcoming people from overseas, including many fleeing

persecution. My own great-grandfather came from Turkey in fear of his life…for his outspoken journalism." And then he recited the popular stereotype deployed by descendants of immigrants pushing great replacement theory: the past good immigrant and the present bad immigrant. Johnson contrasted "that proud history of safe and legal migration" with the "uncontrolled immigration" of the twenty-first century brought on by "gangs" that were "taking advantage of the asylum system."

Home Secretary Patel admitted to a reporter that, under this new plan, her own Indian parents, who'd migrated from Uganda in the 1960s, would not have been admitted to the UK. (She later tried to backtrack on these comments and said her family would have been allowed to come. "My family were persecuted in East Africa, so there is a complete difference between the two," she said.)

British colonizers had brought many people from India to their East African colonies as indentured servants in the nineteenth century. Indian merchants and traders seeking business opportunities in East Africa also migrated. Some joined with White colonizers to oppose decolonization in East Africa in the twentieth century, perhaps because they feared losing their businesses and jobs in colonial governments.

Patel's paternal grandfather ran a convenience store in Uganda. Braverman's father worked for the land and settlement department in Kenya's colonial government. Sunak's maternal grandfather worked for Tanzania's colonial administration. Sunak's paternal grandfather, Ramdas Sunak, worked as an administrative officer for Kenya's colonial government. But while on the British payroll, Ramdas Sunak supported Kenya's Mau Mau rebellion against British rule. The Mau Mau rebellion began in 1952, three years after Sunak had a son, the father of the UK's future prime minister.

—

Prime Minister Sunak began his conference speech thanking his family, including his parents. “My mum and dad were—and are—my inspiration,” he said before moving to the core of his speech. “I’ve never pretended that stopping the boats will be easy,” he said. “Our new law will ensure that if you come here illegally, you will be detained and swiftly removed. Now, I am confident that once flights start going regularly to Rwanda, the boats will stop coming.”

Later in the speech, Sunak saw no irony when talking about the nation accepting his immigrant family. “I often think about how different our lives would be if my grandparents had not left India and East Africa all those years ago,” he said. “I owe our country everything.”

“I stand before you today as the first non-white leader in our country’s history,” Sunak declared to thunderous applause from the audience. “Never let anyone tell you that this is a racist country. It is not.”

Senator Ralph Babet, who immigrated to Australia as a child from Rodrigues, an autonomous island of Mauritius, tweeted, “Anybody who says that Australians are racist is simply not paying attention.” Hamilton Mourão, vice president of Brazil under Jair Bolsonaro, who identifies as Indigenous, said, “Racism doesn’t exist in Brazil.”

This has been the position of the UK’s Conservative Party. But Farage still did not hold back his criticism.

CHAPTER 45

Brexit

"**Let's face it,** after thirteen years, this is not a conservative party—it's a social democrat party," Nigel Farage says to Andrew Pierce, referring to the thirteen years the Tories held power. Their live interview on GB News before the Braverman and Sunak speeches is becoming quite animated. Farage is now slamming the Conservative Party on the first day of the Conservative Party conference. "It's high tax, big state, high spend, open-door immigration on the most extraordinary, historic scale."

There's a reason Farage wanted to create more distance between himself and the Conservative Party: compared to when his UKIP party won the European Parliament elections in the UK in 2014, the distance between the parties had narrowed, threatening Farage's hold on great replacement politics.

The astounding success of old (or newly created) great replacement parties has caused some mainstream parties to transform into great replacement parties in order to maintain their power. Most notably the Republican Party in the United States, but also the Conservative Party in the UK. All of which is borne out by the research. A review of seventy-five case studies of "far-right parties" in twenty-two European countries between 1999 and 2014 found that when "the center right" provides "almost full cooperation of the far right's agenda," it "dampens the success of the far right."

In 2006, Conservative MP David Cameron called UKIP "a bunch of…fruitcakes and loonies and closet racists." Farage threatened, "Unless he apologises, we're not ruling anything out." Cameron stood his ground. UKIP officials channeled their vengeance into attacks on Cameron's EU position, particularly after he became prime minister in 2010. Cameron could not ignore the political winds. To ward off UKIP's rise, to satisfy the Eurosceptics and maintain unity within his fragmenting party, and to ensure his reelection, Cameron made an announcement on January 23, 2013. He pledged to hold a referendum on whether the UK should stay in the European Union if he was reelected in the 2015 general election.

All political eyes converged on Farage's UKIP, which had been campaigning for this referendum for two decades. The more eyes on UKIP, the more people noticed the party's racism, requiring UKIP to organize more proximity denial through exhibiting their Black and Asian candidates. Demonstrators disrupted a May 2014 event. "How dare they call us racist when being a black Jew, and being sixty years of age, I know what racism is," said UKIP candidate Paula McQueen. Elsewhere, Farage said, "We're a non-racist, non-sectarian political party…. Over 10 percent of our candidates come from [non-White] backgrounds." Herschel Walker, when campaigning for his U.S. Senate seat, stated that the Proud Boys, a militant band of great replacement soldiers, are "not a racist group. They have black, white. They have a lot of different people in it."

—

The Conservative Party's gambit worked. It narrowly won the 2015 elections. Cameron scheduled the referendum for June 23, 2016. He officially opened the door to what would famously became known as Brexit: the British exit from the European Union.

On June 16, 2016, one week before the referendum, Farage unveiled a poster that encapsulated the great replacement message of the pro-Brexit campaign. A gigantic line of thousands of Brown people took up the entire poster. The image depicted migrants crossing the Croatia-Slovenia border in 2015. The gigantic line of humanity curved around an open clearing containing the superimposed message, in bold red letters: "BREAKING POINT." Under it, in white, the declaration: "The EU has failed us all." Along the bottom of the poster, bold white letters boomed: "We must break free of the EU and take back control of our borders."

Months before the Brexit referendum, 63 percent of respondents to a YouGov survey indicated immigration was the most pressing issue facing the UK. About 93 percent of respondents who said they were troubled by "high" rates of immigration planned to vote to "leave" in the referendum. Another survey, two years after the referendum, found that 31 percent of Leave voters (and 6 percent of Remain voters) believed that "Muslim immigration to this country is part of a bigger plan to make Muslims a majority of this country's population." The surveyor, Hugo Leal, explained the results. "The widespread belief in a supposedly outlandish nativist conspiracy theory known as the 'great replacement' is an important marker and predictor of…Brexit votes."

One of those Leave supporters believing this conspiracy theory was a fifty-three-year-old heavily armed unemployed gardener.

CHAPTER 46

Britain First

The same day Farage unveiled his poster, Thomas Mair approached MP Jo Cox in Birstall in West Yorkshire. Cox, a forty-one-year-old White Labour Party member, had published a pro-Remain piece in the *Batley and Birstall News* and the *Spenborough Guardian.* Mair read it and kept it, alongside his golden Nazi eagle, a swastika, the book *SS Race Theory and Mate Selection Guidelines,* and a newspaper clipping about the Norwegian neo-Nazi terrorist Anders Breivik.

Mair read about Dylann Roof, the Ku Klux Klan, and notable Jewish people. His home library included manuals on how to build homemade bombs and pistols, as well as a copy of *Ich Kämpfe* (*I Fight*), a leaflet Nazi Party members like Michael Kast received in the early 1940s. Including this leaflet, Mair had purchased at least $620 worth of objects from the National Alliance, a now-defunct American group of Nazis and neo-Nazis.

In 1978, the founder of the National Alliance, William Luther Pierce, published *The Turner Diaries* under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald. In the novel, set in the late twentieth century, White great replacement soldiers execute all White "race traitors" and all peoples of color by "a combination of chemical, biological, and radiological means." Let it be known, Pierce wrote, "it was in the year 1999, according to the chronology of the Old Era—just 110

years after the birth of the Great One [Adolf Hitler]—that the dream of a White world finally became a certainty." This novel helped provoke Timothy McVeigh to bomb a federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995.

It almost certainly provoked Mair to go after this pro-Remain MP.

Mair shot Cox twice in the head and once in the chest with a sawed-off hunting rifle. His fury not satisfied, he stabbed her fifteen times. As he did so, he shouted, "This is for Britain!" and "Britain first!" and "Keep Britain independent!" Cox died on the way to the hospital.

—

In the aftermath of Mair's assassination of Cox, the pollsters still predicted British voters would elect to remain. They were wrong. On June 23, 2016, 51.9 percent of Britons voted to leave the European Union in the highest turnout since the 1992 general election.

Renaud Camus "was personally much saddened by *Brexit*…. The continent being invaded, the nations which are part of [the European Union] should stick together and resist." But most great replacement politicians were delighted. Marine Le Pen tweeted, "Now we need to have the same referendum in France and in the countries of the EU." Geert Wilders of the Netherlands tweeted, "Hurrah for the British! Now it is our turn." In Russia, legislator Vladimir V. Zhirinovsky praised Britons for "their right decision to exit the European Union." Donald Trump, who happened to be visiting Scotland the day after the referendum, said it was a "great victory" and compared it to his campaign for U.S. president then under way. "People want to take their country back," Trump told reporters. "You see it all over Europe and many other cases where they want to take their borders back…. I think you are going to have this more and more."

Great replacement parties everywhere were hopeful in 2016. In Greece, days after the Brexit vote, Kyriakos Velopoulos founded the Eurosceptic party Ellinikí Lýsi (Greek Solution), on June 28. In spring 2016 elections, Peru's Popular Force had secured the most seats of any party, while the Slovak National Party amassed a whopping fifteen seats in the National Council, after winning zero in 2012. Austria's Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (the Freedom Party, or FPÖ) scored its best-ever performance in the 2016 presidential election. In the first round of voting, the FPÖ's Norbert Hofer accumulated more votes—1.5 million—than any other presidential candidate.

Former Nazi officials founded Austria's Freedom Party in 1956. Anton Reinthaller, the party's first leader, had served as both an SS officer and a minister of agriculture in the Nazi colonial government. In 1958, another former SS officer, Friedrich Peter, took the helm and presided over the party through the 1960s and 1970s.

According to Brookings Institution researchers, the FPÖ owed its electoral success in 2016 to "the refugee crisis and the government's decision to open the country's borders and take in nearly 100,000 refugees" and "the series of Islamist terror attacks in several European cities that had been discursively linked to the migration crisis." In a survey that year, 56 percent of Austrian respondents told surveyors that their sense of personal security had declined during the migrant crisis. At the same time, the FPÖ's popularity surged in the polls. Following legislative elections in 2017, the FPÖ created a coalition government with the Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party).

—

After Brexit, Cameron resigned as prime minister. Farage resigned as leader of the UK Independence Party, fleeing the sinking political ship now that the UK had achieved independence. Theresa May succeeded Cameron. As negotiations took much longer than

expected to finalize a withdrawal agreement from the EU, frustration grew. Farage noticed a political opportunity.

CHAPTER 47

Reform UK

Farage established the Brexit Party in time for the May 2019 European Parliament elections and campaigned on leaving the EU without a withdrawal agreement. The Brexit Party secured the most votes in that election, and the Conservative Party lost all but four of its members of the European Parliament, a historically disastrous performance. Theresa May resigned a day later and Prime Minister Boris Johnson took over. Johnson's outspoken advocacy of Brexit stole the thunder of the Brexit Party and made it politically superfluous. The Brexit Party failed to break through the UK's two-party system and win any seats in the UK general election in December 2019. The next month, Johnson's government completed Brexit with a withdrawal agreement.

In January 2021, Farage rebranded the Brexit Party as Reform UK. Farage set up the new political party as a company, becoming its director and major shareholder. "You're sort of a one-man internal dictatorship," a Channel 4 news presenter later said to Farage. "That's how things start in life. We're a very, very new organisation, and that will grow and expand and democratise over time," Farage replied. "You have my word on that."

Its major great replacement financier was Richard Tice, the scion of a super-wealthy family of property developers and the chief executive of Quidnet Capital Partners, the owner of industrial

warehouses. Tice donated to UKIP in 2013. He co-founded the Leave EU campaign group. He donated about €1 million to the Brexit Party following the 2019 election. Between 2021 and 2024, Tice provided €1.4 million in loans to Reform UK. Tice said in 2024, "If you have mass immigration that doesn't come under and buy into that single British culture, then you are diluting it, you are damaging it."

Farage resigned as formal leader of Reform UK in March 2021. He became a presenter on GB News in July.

—

Andrew Pierce presents Farage as the king of the Tories in their conference interview. "It's interesting that at the Conservative dinner last night…when you stood up, the applause for you was deafening," Pierce says. "The Tory Party faithful still see you as their lost leader."

"They do," Farage replies. "It's a really funny one. Andrew, I never shifted. My political opinions never went right or left. I didn't change from 1990. It's the party that's changed radically over these last three decades."

Journalists and researchers agreed. "A decade ago, the leading influence on Tory thinking was the *Times* columnist Daniel Finkelstein; today it is Farage and his fellow travellers," journalist Will Lloyd noted. "The primary concerns of Tory intellectuals in 2013 were education and welfare reform and embracing social liberalism; in 2023 they are the elite, immigration and gender ideology."

Julia Ebner, a researcher of extremists, is "often asked why the UK doesn't have a successful far-right populist party." Her answer: "Because it doesn't need to. Parts of the Conservative Party now cater to audiences that would have voted for the BNP or UKIP in the past."

—

In many ways, Farage is at home at the Conservative Party conference. "Of course, this man," Pierce says, pointing to Farage, "could be Tory leader if he was a Tory MP, but I don't think that he wants to go there."

Farage laughs.

—

One person who does want to be Tory leader is Sunak's Secretary of State for Business and Trade, Kemi Badenoch. Before becoming an MP in 2017, Badenoch favored Brexit.

While pregnant, Badenoch's mother had traveled from her home in Lagos, Nigeria, to London. She gave birth there on January 2, 1980, which secured British citizenship for her daughter. They returned to Nigeria, where Badenoch lived the first sixteen years of her life.

Enoch Powell would have been outraged by what Badenoch's mother did. Powell was deeply critical of automatic birthright citizenship, which Thatcher's 1981 British Nationality Act abolished, taking effect the day before Badenoch's third birthday. At the time, Home Secretary William Whitelaw expressed the importance for Britons to be "separated into insiders and outsiders." If Badenoch and her mother had arrived earlier, the Tories would have regarded them as outsiders. In the 1970s, Black Britons had to walk by signs that proclaimed, "Keep Britain White."

"I tell my children this is the best country in the world to be Black—because it's a country that sees people, not labels," Badenoch said in 2023. "We believe, as Martin Luther King once said, people should be judged by the content of their character, not the color of their skin."

Badenoch knows how to become the Tory leader as a Black politician. She keeps on saying that racism against peoples of color has ended. This idea has linked to a far more insidious idea—the nucleus of great replacement theory.

LINK 5

Anti-White racism is on the rise.

↓

Bigotry against privileged groups is on the rise.

//

Geert Wilders

The Netherlands

CHAPTER 48

Surprise

A treasured blond mop of hair. No mustache. No goatee. Skinny lips. Prominent chin. He stands well over six feet tall. He could almost pass for a younger and more slender Donald Trump.

His name is Geert Wilders, and he is a Dutch politician. He is hoping his party can eke out a victory in the parliamentary elections on November 22, 2023. Despite pollsters predicting a victory, maybe Wilders feels the same way Trump did back on election night in 2016. Pessimistic. Trump did not compose a victory speech. Even after Nigel Farage's shocking Brexit win earlier in the year, Trump still did not think he was going to be victorious. Trump planned to flee the country after the election, to visit one of his golf courses in Scotland. He wanted to avoid Hillary Clinton's victory lap around the United States. "Fuel up the plane," Trump told the pilot of his private jet on Election Day.

Wilders has underestimated his appeal to voters in 2023, as Trump did in 2016. The electoral success of great replacement politicians kept catching pundits—and the politicians themselves—by surprise. Pollsters predicted a victory for Wilders. But they did not predict a huge victory for the "Dutch Donald Trump" in the 2023 Dutch general election.

Wilders books a small room at the unassuming Café 't Seepaardje in Scheveningen, a seaside district of The Hague, that

seat of the Dutch parliament and international law. The "coziest brown café" in the seaside district, with a "large terrace, billiards, darts, and a pool table" best fits the brand of his Partij Voor de Vrijheid (PVV), or Party for Freedom.

"Brown" cafés are barely lit neighborhood bars, mainstays of Dutch culture that operate kind of like English pubs. Everyday people lean on the dark brown wood walls as they drink local beers, eat local cuisine, play games until one or two in the morning, stagger back to a nearby home. A location of the people for a party of the people led by a man of the people (if, of course, the detail of the party's policies not benefiting most Dutch people is overlooked).

Wilders presents himself in the 2023 election as a man of the Dutch people. He is the most Islamophobic politician in a Europe of Islamophobic politicians.

For nearly two decades, no one raged about supposed Muslim "replacers" quite like Geert Wilders. He compared the Quran to *Mein Kampf.* He demanded the banning of the Quran and mosques in the Netherlands. He made everyday Dutch people believe that the tiny population of Dutch Muslims—roughly 6 percent—was a gigantic murderous army. "We are being replaced if we don't act soon," Wilders said. "Stop the Islamization of the West!" In France, Camus warned, too, of "the Islamification" of his country.

Wilders founded the Party for Freedom in 2006, on the eve of the revival of great replacement theory in the twenty-first century. Two years earlier, Wilders had left the Volkspartij Voor Vrijheid en Democratie (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy, or VVD). He objected to his old party supporting Turkey's bid to join the European Union. He still objected in 2015. "You are no Europeans, and you will never be," Wilders said in a video. "An Islamic state like Turkey does not belong to Europe. All the values Europe stands for —freedom, democracy, human rights—are incompatible with Islam."

Dutch history and Wilders's own family history told a different story about values.

CHAPTER 49

Indonesia

The values of freedom, democracy, and human rights were incompatible with Wilders's nation emerging as one of the principal Atlantic human traders in the seventeenth century. After those floating prisons set out from the North Sea ports of the Netherlands, the ships passed England and Scotland on the left and Scandinavia on the right before heading west into the Atlantic Ocean and south to West Africa to trade for enslaved human beings. Dutch soldiers and settlers crossed the Atlantic, engaged in genocides of Indigenous peoples, stole their ancestral lands, and planted slavery camps with shackled peoples of African descent in what is now New York, Suriname, and several Caribbean islands.

In 1602, the Netherlands commenced its colonization of Indonesia, which would become the most populous Muslim-majority nation in the world by the early twenty-first century. More than 280 million people live on its approximately 17,500 islands north of Australia in the Indian Ocean. Before independence in 1945, Dutch missionaries and colonial officials in Indonesia claimed that "Islam is inconsistent with freedom, Islam is oppressive," explained Jeremy Menchik, a scholar of Indonesian Islam. "This is the same thing Wilders is saying now."

One Indonesian subjected to Dutch colonial rule was Annie Meijer. She was born in 1902 in Jakarta, the current capital of

Indonesia, to an "Indo" family—that is, one of mixed White and Indigenous Indonesian descent. She married a Dutch settler named Johan Ording. On May 23, 1933, Meijer and Ording had a daughter in Sukabumi. They named her Maria Anne Ording.

Maria Anne, her parents, and her siblings immigrated to the Netherlands after Johan Ording was fired from his government post and expelled from Indonesia for "large-scale fraud and corruption." In the Netherlands, Maria Anne married Johannes Wilders, head of research at a manufacturer of copy machines. They had four children; the youngest, Geert, was born on September 6, 1963.

Johannes Wilders hailed from Venlo, near the Dutch border with Germany. He hid from occupying Nazis during World War II. The trauma of it all left a lasting mark. Decades later, Wilders's father refused to cross the bridges in Venlo over the Meuse River to enter western Germany. Before his death in 2005, he likely heard his son ridicule Muslims in the way Nazis had ridiculed Jews. Did he notice the similarities? Or dismiss them? It can be difficult for any person to acknowledge how twentieth-century Nazi ideas have been renovated into neo-Nazi ideas—let alone acknowledge the role of your loved ones in the renovation.

—

"The immigration of non-Western immigrants is an existential problem," Geert Wilders said, while knowing his mother and grandmother were "non-Western immigrants."

In 2020, Wilders criticized the government's public housing policy as anti-Dutch. Meaning, for him, the policy was anti-White. "For whom is the construction being done? For the Dutch or for immigrants?" Wilders tweeted. In fact, more than 90 percent of the public homes in the Netherlands are allocated for non-immigrants.

Paul Wilders responded by asking his younger brother to define "immigrant." "Name/family Wilders is from Germany, 1 grandmother

has roots from Indonesia," Paul posted on Twitter. "We are all immigrants."

Wilders's opponents have accused him of bleaching his hair to hide his dark-haired Indonesian ancestry. The most Islamophobic politician in Europe orchestrated distance from his ancestral nation, which has the largest population of Muslims in the world.

—

From 1981 to 1983, Wilders volunteered in an Israeli settlement in the occupied West Bank. He traveled throughout the Middle East. After returning to the Netherlands, in the 1990s Wilders served as parliamentary assistant for Frits Bolkestein, leader of the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy. He helped Bolkestein rail against immigration, particularly against Muslim immigrants. In 1998, Wilders set off on his own. Voters elected the thirty-five-year-old to the Netherlands House of Representatives.

Wilders was a little-known lawmaker in 2001 when Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn rose to prominence. Bald with bushy dark eyebrows, Fortuyn criticized the supposed demise of Dutch national identity within the EU. Fortuyn called for a "Cold War against Islam," opposed Muslim immigration, and argued that Muslims "don't assimilate." Journalists compared Fortuyn to Jean-Marie Le Pen in France. But Fortuyn orchestrated distance from the elder Le Pen. "My policies are multi-ethnic and certainly not racist," Fortuyn said. "I'm not anti-Muslim. I'm not anti-immigrant."

Wilders initially slammed Fortuyn for his "false generalisation about all Muslims. There is nothing wrong with Islam, it's about that small piece of Muslim extremism." But the terrain shifted after the terror attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001; after an animal rights activist assassinated Fortuyn in 2002; and after Fortuyn's party became the second largest in parliament weeks later. Wilders then "recognized that there was a gap in the political

landscape," his brother, Paul, figured. Wilders stepped into the gap. He made "a name for himself as an opponent of Islam," Paul added. Fortuyn became Wilders's "hero."

Another inspiration was the incendiary work by historian Gisèle Littman. Published in 2005 under her pen name Bat Ye'or, Littman's *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* depicted "Europe's evolution from a Judeo-Christian civilization…into a post-Judeo-Christian civilization that is subservient to the ideology of *jihad* and the Islamic powers that propagate it." This book popularized the Eurabia great replacement theory that the so-called "globalists" planned to replace White Jews and Christians in Europe with Arab Muslims, undercutting Europe's bonds with Israel and the United States. This conspiracy theory also influenced Norwegian great replacement shooter Anders Breivik.

Wilders came to view the nation of Israel as the ultimate fortress to guard against supposed Muslim replacers. "This conflict here in the Middle East is not about land and borders but about Islamic jihadism opposing Western liberty," Wilders said in Tel Aviv in 2010. "Islam threatens not just Israel; Islam threatens the entire world…. If Jerusalem falls, Athens and Rome—and Paris, London, and Washington—will be next. Thus, Jerusalem is the main front protecting our common civilization."

—

Wilders's new Party of Freedom started out winning nine House seats in the 2006 election. The party steadily grew in popularity from there. In 2015, the David Horowitz Freedom Center, a great replacement organization in the U.S., donated nearly $120,000 to Wilders's party. It was the single largest donation to any Dutch political party that year (donations to political parties in the Netherlands have historically been small compared to those in the United States).

The David Horowitz Freedom Center has financed and platformed a number of Islamophobic voices over the years. The elderly Horowitz called Wilders "a hero" and "the Paul Revere of Europe." Meanwhile, Horowitz described Black Lives Matter as "a racist hate group." As for immigrants of color, he declared: "We're being invaded…. It's culture that makes America great, and you have to assimilate people into our culture…. These people have inhabited horrible cultures." He continued, "Why is South America poor? Why is Mexico poor? Because it's a culture of corruption."

Speaking of a culture of corruption, Wilders set up his Party for Freedom to have only one official member—himself. So he did not have to provide budget disclosures to members, like other Dutch parties do. So he could largely keep his great replacement financiers a secret. So he could retain total control, as Nigel Farage did with his Reform UK.

In the summer of 2023, Wilders's Party for Freedom held the third-most seats in the House. His former party, the VVD, held the most seats, having ruled since 2010. Like the Tories holding off Farage's UKIP, the VVD tried to woo Wilders's voters. Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte proposed a waiting period of two years for immigrants fleeing violence to be reunited with their children. One party in his coalition agreed. Two did not. Rutte's governing coalition collapsed. On July 7, 2023, the Electoral Council scheduled snap elections for mid-November.

Wilders's party trailed in the polls until a televised debate on November 16, 2023. He falsely claimed that more than half of the residents of big cities were immigrants. He declared he would put the Dutch first when distributing public housing—even though the Dutch were already the primary beneficiaries of public housing. Was it enough to win?

CHAPTER 50

Seems Incredible

A little before 9:30 P.M. on November 22, 2023, Geert Wilders enters the Café 't Seepaardje as the most powerful politician in the Netherlands. He walks into what has surprisingly turned into a party for an electoral landside. Hardly any pollsters gave him a chance to seize as many seats as his party did.

Hardly any political pundits gave Trump much of a chance to win the Republican nomination either, let alone the presidency. Eight years earlier, on June 16, 2015, Trump gave that double thumbs-up as a golden escalator slowly transported him to the crowd gathered below at Trump Tower in New York City. He mounted a makeshift stage. He said "Mexico" was sending criminals and drug dealers and "rapists"—code for White genocide theory. He said, "A lot of people…can't get jobs…because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs"—code for Asians and Latinos are replacing White people on the job. He said, "Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump"—code for he will protect Christians and Jews from Muslims. And he concluded: "So, ladies and gentlemen, I am officially running for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again."

Even from his first campaign speech, Trump tapped into—*and helped create*—the fifth link in the chain of ideas: that anti-White racism is a growing problem, that bigotry against privileged groups

is rising. An idea that presumes racism against peoples of color is over, the fourth link. An idea that misdefines racism, the third link. An idea that ignores racial data showing White people on the higher end of nearly every racial inequity, the second link. An idea entrenched in the zero-sum story, the first link.

White Americans who believe this conspiracy theory—that anti-White racism is a growing problem—have constituted Trump's base from the beginning. In 2016, *The Washington Post* reported on data released by the American National Election Study, which showed that White Americans who believed there was "a great deal" of "discrimination against their race" were nearly 40 points more likely to support Trump in the Republican primaries than their White counterparts who believed there was not. White Americans who believed it is incredibly likely that "many whites are unable to find a job because employers are hiring minorities instead" were more than 50 points more likely to back Trump in the Republican primaries than those who found it unlikely. In the general election in 2016, Trump voters were four times more likely than Hillary Clinton voters to believe White Americans faced "a lot of discrimination." Support for the Republican presidential candidate grew between 2012 and 2020 among White Americans who thought there was a moderate amount of anti-White racism, while support declined among White Americans who did not believe this.

Betty Holton, a retired White English professor, shared her thoughts on a poll about White people facing racism with a reporter. "Look at Congress. Look at the Senate. Look at government on every level. Look at the leadership in corporations. Look. Look anywhere," she said, speaking of White overrepresentation in positions of power. "The notion that whites are discriminated against just seems incredible to me." But Holton was in the minority in 2016. At the time, 55 percent of White Americans believed White Americans faced racism, according to the poll.

In the same poll, only a small percentage of White respondents could recall an instance in which they were personally subjected to anti-White racism. Tim Hershman, a sixty-eight-year-old White man from Akron, Ohio, told NPR: "If you apply for a job, they seem to give the blacks the first crack at it." And: "If you want any help from the government, if you're white, you don't get it. If you're black, you get it."

Hershman recounted how he'd felt edged out of a job promotion by a younger Black man who was selected as a finalist ahead of him. Hershman's belief he was the victim of anti-White racism was built on the racist idea that a Black American could never be as qualified as or more qualified than him. But in the end, a White man got the job anyway—a younger one. Certainly, ageism is a major issue affecting the aging White American population, as are sexism, antisemitism, ableism, homophobia, and classism. But great replacement politicians ignore all *this* bigotry that targets elderly White people, White youth, White women, White Jews, White people with disabilities, White gays and lesbians, and poorer White people when they claim they are protecting White people from *bigotry.*

In at least 600 of his 1,150 Fox News episodes that aired between 2016 and 2021, Tucker Carlson and his guests railed, as he put it once, that "anti-white racism is exploding across the country." And White men, he said, were being forced to "step aside for minorities."

In 2023, Indianapolis Colts owner Jim Irsay talked about his 2014 arrest for drunk driving. "I am prejudiced against," he claimed, "because I'm a rich, white billionaire." In June 2022, novelist James Patterson, who has an estimated net worth of $800 million, told *The Times* of London that White authors face "another form of racism." After an outcry, Patterson apologized. He "absolutely" did "not believe" what he had just said. Even in 2020—amid booming

interest in novels by authors of color—about 90 percent of the *New York Times* bestsellers were by White authors.

In 2022, a French survey asked respondents, "Is there anti-white racism in some communities in France?" Eight out of ten French respondents said yes, including almost all supporters of Le Pen's National Rally and 37 percent of the supporters of Jean-Luc Mélenchon's "hard-left" La France Insoumise (France Unbowed).

Antiracist demonstrations around the world in the summer of 2020, after the police murder of George Floyd, fueled the *other* racial reckoning: the narrative of White victimhood. On June 24, 2021, a year after the height of antiracist demonstrations, Carlson appeared on his top-rated Fox News show with a graphic that read: "ANTI-WHITE MANIA," above the Democratic donkey emblem.

"How do we save this country before we become Rwanda?" Carlson asked, evoking White genocide theory. (Over the span of a hundred days in 1994, around 800,000 people were slaughtered in Rwanda, most of them from the minority Tutsi community, the nation's longtime rulers.) "These are killers, and these are people who hate white people," Trump's personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, said about Black Lives Matter on Fox News in August 2020.

Proclamations of anti-White racism usually emerge in reaction to antiracist attempts to deconstruct racism. Great replacement theorists misrepresent attacks on racism as attacks on all White people. This misrepresentation has erased the antiracist work of some White people, as White people are not inherently racist. This misrepresentation has concealed the racist work of some people of color, like those engaged in proximity denial for great replacement parties. Which is the point. Great replacement theory makes the antiracist movement against racism seem like a race war. A war on White people. I term this propaganda technique the *inversion of antiracism.*

CHAPTER 51

Inversion of Antiracism

The inversion of antiracism can be traced in part to an online screed known as "The Mantra." The author: Bob Whitaker. He came to despise antiracism during the civil rights movement in the 1960s. He protested against desegregation as a youngster, likely drawing inspiration from the swastika poster on his bedroom wall.

As the United States desegregated, Whitaker went off to be a mercenary for Rhodesia, according to his supporters (who haven't provided any evidence). The White settler minority of this Southern African colony had declared independence from Britain on November 11, 1965, and named its new nation Rhodesia. "The white man is master of Rhodesia, has built it and intends to keep it," said Ian Smith, Rhodesia's prime minister. Until a peace agreement in 1979 that led to Rhodesia becoming Zimbabwe in 1980, White Rhodesians violently fought to maintain apartheid and supremacy over the 93 percent African majority. They named Black insurgents "terrorists."

Dylann Roof, who murdered Black churchgoers in Charleston, South Carolina, in 2015, took a picture of himself in a coat with the flags of Rhodesia and apartheid South Africa. Roof named his website The Last Rhodesian. Roof lived in the same city as Whitaker —Columbia, South Carolina. Roof and Whitaker no doubt sided with those who claimed that White people in Zimbabwe faced anti-White

racism at the hands of officials who redistributed White-owned lands seized during colonialism and apartheid to the former subjects of colonialism and apartheid. The same talking points of anti-Whiteness have been expressed about nearby South Africa in response to land redistribution proposals. In South Africa, White people still own disproportionately high amounts of land.

There's no documented record of Whitaker working as a mercenary for Rhodesia. But there is a record of Whitaker working in the administration of Ronald Reagan. By the end of the century, Whitaker moved in Nazi and neo-Nazi groups like the National Alliance and its offshoot, known as the National Vanguard.

He posted "The Mantra" on his blog and the National Vanguard's internet forum in 2006. It went viral among Nazis and neo-Nazis worldwide. Maybe Anders Breivik read it in Norway. Five years before Renaud Camus named great replacement theory, Whitaker's "Mantra" summarized its message in a screed that totaled 221 words.

"ASIA FOR THE ASIANS, AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS, WHITE COUNTRIES FOR EVERYBODY," Whitaker began the screed. "Everybody says there is this RACE problem. Everybody says this RACE problem will be solved when the third world pours into EVERY white country and ONLY into white countries."

"But if I tell that obvious truth about the ongoing program of genocide against my race, the white race, Liberals and respectable conservatives agree that I am a naziwhowantstokillsixmillionjews," Whitaker wrote. "They say they are anti-racist. What they are is anti-white. Anti-racist is a code word for anti-white."

To the National Vanguard, "feminism" too is "aimed at the destruction of the White race," as blogger David Sims wrote in 2022. To Sims and other great replacement theorists, feminist too is code for anti-White. They claim that feminism compels White women to neglect their primary duty to birth and nurture White children, leading to declining White birth rates and White children being

indoctrinated with "antiwhite" messages. Sims described feminism as "the spiritual poison that turned a lot of White women into the repulsive, shrieking, anti-White genocidal harridans that they are today."

—

Maybe Renaud Camus read "The Mantra." Maybe the screed inspired his inversion of antiracism as White genocide. "Antiracism has finally taken on the meaning that its name implied in the first place, denoting the stance against (the existence of) races and the willingness to have them disappear," he wrote in *You Will Not Replace Us!*

When the author of "The Mantra" died in June 2017, Whitaker's admirers reflected on his legacy. "Perhaps his most important, and most lasting, legacy is that his incessant promotion of the term 'anti-white' is now slowly but surely going mainstream," a user named "Bellatrix" posted on Stormfront, the most prominent neo-Nazi website. "A very important corner to turn indeed, as it is the rebuttal of the accusation of racist."

—

The same rebuttal is used in the Netherlands, where each Christmas Zwarte Piet, or Black Pete, appears. Black Pete is depicted as the buffoonish servant of the White Sinterklaas, the Dutch Santa Claus. He was first imagined in an 1850 schoolteacher's book. To celebrate this tradition in the twenty-first century, White Dutch people dress up in full blackface, put on huge lips and Afro-style wigs. Thus attired, these Black Petes have paraded around and visited schools, unnerving Black students. When ten-year-old Kymane "was little," he said, "people were thinking I was in blackface." When Kymane spoke out, White Dutch kids responded: "If you don't like it, go back to your own country."

In 2011, poet Jerry Afriyie launched the initiative Kick Out Zwarte Piet. At the time, only 7 percent of Dutch people wanted the tradition gone. Afriyie and Quinsy Gario went to Dordrecht for the nationally televised arrival of Sinterklaas, where he paraded with his Black Petes. Afriyie and Gario wore T-shirts that proclaimed, "Black Pete Is Racism." Dutch police pepper-sprayed, knocked to the ground, and arrested these two Black men.

Wilders's Party for Freedom has been an unrelenting defender of the Black Pete tradition. "We now have no doubt that at least part of the protest against Black Pete was racially motivated," said Martin Bosma, Wilders's "longest and closest" ally. Bosma greeted and took a selfie with Renaud Camus at a party rally in Rotterdam in 2018, posting he was "impressed" with Camus. Bosma termed the anti–Black Pete demonstrations "anti-white racism."

The antiracist demonstration against Black Pete signaled a larger demonstration against racism in the Netherlands. Where White people with a criminal record are three times more likely to be hired for a job than a person of color *without* a criminal record. Where 5.6 percent of White Dutch households are impoverished, compared to 26.2 percent of Dutch households of color. Between 2016 and 2020, Dutch people of color were fourteen times more likely to die at the hands of police than White Dutch people.

The inversion of antiracism ultimately means that great replacement politicians, by targeting antiracism, present themselves as defenders of White people. It is another renovation of Nazism. Lest we forget: Nazis inverted antisemitism. On June 13, 1939, Nazi officials ordered German newspapers to stop using the term "antisemitism" and instead to describe antisemitic Nazi policy as a "defense against the Jews."

A Trump executive order popularized the inversion of antiracism. And feminism.

CHAPTER 52

Misdefining

On September 22, 2020, Trump's "Executive Order on Combating Race and Sex Stereotyping" inverted antiracism and feminism as racist, sexist, and divisive. Throughout American history, Trump's order began, "heroic Americans have valiantly risked their lives to ensure that their children would grow up in a Nation living out its creed": a "belief in the inherent equality of every individual." It continued: "Today, however, many people are pushing a different vision of America that is grounded in hierarchies based on collective social and political identities rather than in the inherent and equal dignity of every person as an individual."

Executive Order 13950 maintained that the "destructive ideology" of antiracism and feminism has nine "divisive concepts." The first "divisive concept": the idea that "one race or sex is inherently superior to another race or sex," when, in fact, antiracist and feminist ideas convey equality. The third "divisive concept": the idea that "an individual, by virtue of his or her race or sex, is inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive" or immoral. In fact, to be antiracist or feminist is to recognize anyone can be immoral, racist, sexist, or oppressive.

The fourth "divisive concept": the idea that "an individual should be discriminated against or receive adverse treatment" or disrespected "solely or partly because of his or her race or sex." In

fact, antiracist and feminist policies are structured to prevent adverse treatment—or to help racial and gender groups who are adversely treated until racial and gender equity is reached. Helping adversely treated racial and gender groups does not harm other racial and gender groups, as the zero-sum story leads people to believe.

The eighth "divisive concept": the idea that "any individual should feel discomfort, guilt, anguish, or any other form of psychological distress on account of his or her race or sex." White young people and adults report discomfort and anguish when they learn the truth about racism and sexism after being indoctrinated for years with lies and omissions in school. And girls and kids of color do feel discomfort, guilt, anguish, and psychological distress when teachers make racist and sexist comments, instead of teaching about racism and sexism. Kids of color "are more engaged when they see people like themselves in school materials," explained curriculum and instruction researchers Tanji Reed Marshall and William Rodick in an EdTrust study. "Increased engagement from representation leads to improved academic outcomes" and "improved self-esteem."

By early 2021, great replacement theorists landed on a new slogan for these so-called "divisive concepts." They deployed the term "critical race theory" so that they could more easily invert antiracism. Christopher Rufo, a travel documentarian turned Republican propagandist, announced the plan for the term. We are "steadily driving up negative perceptions," Rufo posted in 2021. "We will eventually turn it toxic, as we put all of the various cultural insanities under that brand category." He echoed Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels: "We shall stoke up anti-Semitic propaganda to such an extent that…the word 'Jew' will once again have the devastating impact that it should have," Goebbels wrote in his diary on April 16, 1943.

Rufo branded me the "chief marketing officer" of critical race theory. News to me. News to critical race theorists, who effectively shared their concepts in articles and books in the 1980s and 1990s, while I was learning to read and write in school. Critical race theory was already a well-established academic field by the time I graduated from high school in 2000.

In 2021 and 2022, federal, state, and local politicians introduced 563 measures banning these "divisive concepts" or "critical race theory" in schools, passing 241 of them. The first bill to become law was Idaho's HB 377, passed on April 28, 2021, to promote "nondiscrimination." Republican operatives organized White parents to invade school board meetings and demand these bills. They banned antiracist and feminist books, leaving alone the divisive books instructing racist and sexist concepts.

"As parents, it is our primary duty to protect our children and preserve their innocence," a White mother named Neeley McAllister said at a news conference in Virginia. Many of these parents of White children hardly knew they were paraphrasing the most infamous fourteen words in American history.

CHAPTER 53

Fourteen Words

"**We must secure** the existence of our people and a future for white children": it became known as "Fourteen Words." David Lane coined those words. The former Klansman became one of the nine founders of The Order in 1983. The Order was a short-lived paramilitary organization active in the late twentieth century within what historian Kathleen Belew has termed the "White power movement." These American White power activists were instrumental in the global renovation of Nazi great replacement theory into neo-Nazi great replacement theory. Lane and his fellow founders of The Order believed that "the Western nations were ruled by a Zionist conspiracy" that "above all things wants to exterminate the White Aryan race." By the twenty-first century, old Nazi notions of Jewish elites as the replacists and Aryans as the replacees have largely been hidden behind the casting of globalist elites as the replacists and White people as the replacees. Perhaps that is the reason for the staying power of Lane's fourteen words.

Multiple great replacement soldiers referenced Lane's fourteen words: Dylann Roof before massacring nine African Americans at a Charleston church. Robert Bowers before massacring eleven Jewish Americans at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh on October 27, 2018.

Bowers had registered his Gab social media account in January 2018 under the handle "onedingo." For his cover photo, he put the number 1488, a signpost for Lane's fourteen words and the Nazi slogan "Heil Hitler." Bowers repeatedly referred to African Americans using racist slurs. He repeatedly attacked White women who dated Black men. He repeatedly posted on White genocide theory. One post stated, "Daily Reminder: Diversity means chasing down the last white person."

Two hours before Bowers stormed into the Tree of Life synagogue, he posted on Gab about the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society: "HIAS likes to bring invaders in that kill our people," Bowers wrote. "I can't sit by and watch my people get slaughtered. Screw your optics, I'm going in."

—

Antiracist Americans, connecting and decrying the racist and antisemitic ideas inciting political violence from Pittsburgh to Buffalo, were called "woke." Already in 2021, the term "woke" had started to supplant the phrase "critical race theory" as the new great replacement slogan for the inversion of antiracism. And not just in the United States.

On September 17, 2021, BFM TV, France's most-watched news channel, aired a story about the English Touring Opera opting not to rehire fourteen White freelance musicians—about half the orchestra—for the new season. After seemingly prioritizing White musicians for years, the organization decided to "prioritize diversity." When a historically White organization lets go of racist policies that keep it almost all White, great replacement politicians do not chronicle this as desegregation, as creating equal opportunity for everyone. The framing instead: a "woke" organization has hired unqualified musicians of color to replace qualified White musicians. "'Wokeism,' which is now infiltrating respectable institutions, believes it is

combating a 'lack of diversity' by practicing anti-White racism," Marine Le Pen said in response to this story.

On December 15, 2021, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis announced the Stop WOKE Act. "In Florida we are taking a stand against the state-sanctioned racism that is critical race theory," DeSantis said. He signed the bill into law on April 22, 2022. The same year, the administration of Boris Johnson—an ally of Nigel Farage—banned antiracist education about Black Lives Matter, calling the movement's views that had been critical of the Tory and Labour parties "partisan."

And then great replacement theorists who inverted "critical race theory" as anti-White, who framed "wokeism" as anti-White, also inverted "diversity, equity, and inclusion"—or DEI—as anti-White racism.

It marked the complete mainstreaming of great replacement theory. Years before, Morris Dees and J. Richard Cohen, respectively the founder and president of the Southern Poverty Law Center, tried to warn the world what was coming. "The message of white genocide is spreading," they wrote in *The New York Times* after Dylann Roof's mass shooting in Charleston in 2015. These messengers were crossing borders and saying things like "'Diversity = White Genocide' and 'Diversity Means Chasing Down the Last White Person,' blaming multiculturalism for undermining the 'white race.'"

CHAPTER 54

Answer to ACLU

By March 2024, thirty-one U.S. state legislatures had passed or introduced new laws that prohibit colleges from having (or using state funding to support) DEI offices or staff, mandating diversity training, using diversity statements in hiring, and/or offering programs that advocate "divisive concepts." Five of these anti-DEI laws went into effect on July 1, 2024. As of August 2024, lawyers had filed 114 anti-DEI lawsuits. Many of these cases were brought by great replacement organizations that framed anti-White racism as the civil rights issue of the twenty-first century.

Case in point: America First Legal was founded in 2021 by Stephen Miller, Trump's senior policy adviser in his first administration. Miller shaped Trump's policies on separating Latino children from their parents at the southern border, the Muslim ban, and ending the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program. After his reelection in 2024, Trump named Miller his deputy chief of staff and homeland security adviser. The position again put Miller in the leading role to implement Trump's great replacement agenda of mass-deporting immigrants of color.

Miller had been a great replacement theorist at least since his days as an undergraduate at Duke University. He established the Duke chapter of a student group affiliated with the David Horowitz Freedom Center, which would later finance Geert Wilders's party.

When Trump spoke in Warsaw, Poland, on July 6, 2017, Miller, with the help of Steve Bannon and others, drafted his remarks. "The fundamental question of our time is whether the West has the will to survive," Trump said. "Do we have the confidence in our values to defend them at any cost? Do we have enough respect for our citizens to protect our borders? Do we have the desire and the courage to preserve our civilization in the face of those who would subvert and destroy it?"

Trump appeared in Poland with President Andrzej Duda, an ally of the Polish great replacement party Law and Justice. They spoke next to the monument for the Warsaw Uprising against Nazi occupiers in 1944. Were there people in the crowd whose ancestors had launched the single largest rebellion against German occupiers during World War II in that very Krasiński Square? Nazi occupiers crushed the rebellion led by the Polish Home Army, razed Warsaw into rubble, and massacred tens of thousands of Polish civilians, including 40,000 in the Wola district. Nazi troops hauled civilians who'd survived the mass killings to a transit camp outside of what was left of Warsaw and into forced labor and concentration camps.

In referencing the Warsaw Uprising, Trump said, "Those heroes remind us that the West was saved with the blood of patriots; that each generation must rise up and play their part in its defense." As journalist Anne Applebaum noted, "The ominous overtone was hard to miss: 'each generation' means that patriots in our generation will have to spill their blood in the coming battle to rescue America from its own decadence and corruption too."

—

When Miller founded America First Legal (AFL), he billed the organization as a "long-awaited answer to the ACLU." The American Civil Liberties Union has, since 1920, provided legal assistance to Americans when their civil liberties have been thwarted. During the

2022 midterm elections, America First Legal ran ads on "racism against white people" and "anti-white bigotry." "When did racism against white people become OK?" asked an ad that ran in Georgia. "Liberal politicians block access to medicine based on skin color. Progressive corporations, airlines, universities all openly discriminate against white Americans."

According to *The New York Times,* between its founding in 2021 and April 2024, Miller's America First Legal had filed "more than a hundred lawsuits, EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission] complaints, amicus briefs and other legal demands." In almost all of their filings, AFL sued or provided legal pressure to prevent resources and opportunities from going to deprived peoples of color or alleged that elite White men were subjected to racism and sexism. In October 2023, AFL sued New York University on behalf of a White male law student who claimed that *if* he applied to the school's law review, he likely would not be admitted due to his race and gender.

AFL followed in the footsteps of Edward Blum's Students for Fair Admissions. Blum was born in 1952 to Jewish American parents. "My mother and father both greatly believed in [the civil rights] movement," Blum once said. "And that rubbed off on me and my brother." He explained his mission as seeking out "individuals or jurisdictions, corporations who have been discriminated against in various endeavors because of their race and ethnicity." He expressed that "an individual's race and ethnicity should not be used to help them or harm them in their life's endeavors."

If Blum truly believed this, then he would have represented a wide array of Black, Brown, and Indigenous clients whose race routinely harmed them in their life's endeavors. If the civil rights movement had "rubbed off" on Blum, then he would have brought lawsuits that strengthened the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, the major achievements of the civil rights movement. Instead, almost all the plaintiffs in Blum's highest-profile cases have been

White or Asian, and his legal activism has made those achievements of the civil rights movement dead letters. Blum was behind *Shelby County v. Holder* in 2013, when the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the federal preclearance provision in the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which required historically segregationist states and counties to get approval for new voting measures from the federal government's civil rights division. The provision worked as a dam. Since Blum and the Supreme Court pulverized the dam in 2013, racist voting laws have flooded state law books, likely contributing to declining turnout of Black and Brown voters and Trump's election victories in 2016 and 2024.

In 2025, as one of his first moves in his second presidency, Trump put on leave or fired DEI personnel across the federal government. Trump railed against "worshiping at the altar of race and gender" and "the abolition of our national borders" and the collapsing of "the nuclear family and fertility rates"—as "the greatest threat to Western civilization today."

On the day of his second inauguration, January 20, 2025, Trump issued Executive Order 14151 on "Ending Radical and Wasteful Government DEI Programs and Preferencing." The order stated that "the Biden Administration forced illegal and immoral discrimination programs, going by the name 'diversity, equity, and inclusion' (DEI), into virtually all aspects of the Federal Government, in areas ranging from airline safety to the military." This was a reference to President Biden's Executive Order 13985 of January 20, 2021, which stated "that the Federal Government should pursue a comprehensive approach to advancing equity for all, including people of color and others who have been historically underserved, marginalized, and adversely affected by persistent poverty and inequality." Under Biden, federal departments and agencies were thus tasked with reforming their "decision-making processes" and "policies and programs that serve as barriers to equal opportunity," as exhibited in persisting racial inequities.

But when Trump took over the federal government in 2025, he presumed that Biden's executive order sought not to create equal opportunity for everyone, but to deny opportunity for White people. With this inversion of antiracism, Trump ordered the "termination" of all diversity, equity, and inclusion programs within the federal government.

Like great replacement politicians the world over, Trump views anti-White racism as a widespread problem in the United States. He also views "Anti-Christian Bias" as a widespread problem, as expressed in the title of an executive order he issued on February 6, 2025. Executive Order 14202 argued that "the previous Administration engaged in an egregious pattern of targeting peaceful Christians, while ignoring violent, anti-Christian offenses." Trump accused the Biden administration of forcing "Christians to affirm radical transgender ideology against their faith" and "conform to certain beliefs on sexual orientation and gender identity." And finally, in an executive order to "Combat Anti-Semitism" issued on January 29, 2025, Trump faulted the "prior administration" for failing "to protect American Jews." The order stated that "the Hamas terrorist attacks of October 7, 2023…unleashed an unprecedented wave of vile anti-Semitic discrimination, vandalism, and violence against our citizens, especially in our schools and on our campuses."

The Trump administration linked the contrived problem of anti-White racism and the contrived problem of anti-Christian bias with an actual problem—antisemitism—to frame heterosexual White Christians and Jews as the primary victims of bigotry. In practice, the Trump administration defined anti-White racism as any antiracist policy or program ensuring equal opportunity for all racial groups or ensuring the inclusion of a historically excluded racial group. In practice, it defined "anti-Christian bias" as any program that restricts the freedom of Christians to exclude and denigrate Muslims and queer people. In practice, it defined as antisemitic any

person or program that is critical of Israeli war crimes in Gaza and the West Bank (a definition that excludes Trump's own history of antisemitism).

After issuing this flurry of executive orders, the Trump administration spent the first few months of 2025 threatening both for-profit and nonprofit organizations that did not subscribe to its great replacement project. It brought lawsuits and withheld or threatened to withhold federal funding from institutions like universities. Many corporations and universities fired their diversity staff, cracked down on anti-war protests, closed their diversity and multicultural programs, banned initiatives for learning about racial, gender, and sexual equality, and rolled back anti-bigotry policies and practices. At the same time, the programs that privileged and advantaged and venerated White Americans, male Americans, Christian Americans, Jewish Americans, and heterosexual Americans were usually spared, if not strengthened. Intellectuals termed Trump's assault on antiracist policies the "resegregation" of the United States.

—

Jim Crow segregationists had inverted antiracist laws as anti-White racism, too. South Carolina Congressman John Hemphill objected to the proposed Federal Elections Bill in 1890 at a time when segregationists were disenfranchising Black Southerners. The Black man "has as many rights as I have, and I concede them all to him, but he can not have his rights and mine, too," Hemphill said. In opposing a federal anti-lynching bill in 1938, Mississippi Senator Theodore Bilbo said, "If you succeed in the passage of this bill, you will open the floodgates of hell in the South. Raping, mobbing, lynching, race riots, and crime will be increased a thousandfold; and upon your garments and the garments of those who are responsible

for the passage of this measure will be the blood of the raped and outraged daughters of Dixie."

In 1956, *The Citizens' Council*—the publication of the segregationist organization of the same name—called desegregation an "Anti-White Plot Hatched in Moscow" in a headline. During a Senate hearing on the Civil Rights Act of 1957, Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook blasted the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for purportedly conducting "a conspiracy against the white man." Georgia Senator Herman Talmadge opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on the basis that this "bill, then, which purports to alleviate discrimination, actually compounds discrimination upon discrimination."

Half a century later, great replacement politicians, purporting to protect their supporters, have largely compounded the harm. Perhaps that is why they have been as shocked as anyone by their margins of victory. Shocked like Geert Wilders.

CHAPTER 55

Winds of Change

Thirty minutes before Wilders walks into the Café 't Seepaardje, he stands in an office. Five party comrades surround him. They watch a televised announcement of the first exit polls for the 2023 election. Wilders cannot believe what he sees. He spreads his arms wide. He brings his hands to his face. He covers his face, runs his hands down his face, frees his eyes. What humans do when we see the impossible.

Wilders spreads his arms wide again, smiles as wide as his arms. He turns to his colleagues and shouts, "Thirty-five!"

The first exit polls predict Wilders's Party for Freedom will win 35 out of the 150 seats in the Netherlands House of Representatives, more than any other political party. Pollsters hardly predicted such a large seat haul. His party ends up winning 37 seats. They would need 76 seats to form a majority government. Wilders's party can join with other parties to reach 76 seats and select the prime minister. All to come for Wilders.

In that moment, Wilders takes it all in with a selfie, his five party comrades and the TV in the background. He posts the selfie on X. He probably notices that great replacement politicians around the world are starting to post their congratulations. Prime Minister Viktor Orbán posts from Hungary, "The winds of change are here! Congratulations to Geert Wilders on winning the Dutch elections!"

From France, Marine Le Pen posts: "Congratulations to Geert Wilders and the PVV for their spectacular performance in the legislative elections, which confirms the growing attachment to the defense of national identities." From Germany, AfD co-leader Alice Weidel tweets: "Congratulations on this great success. All of Europe wants political change." In nearby Belgium, Tom Van Grieken of Flemish Interest posts: "I would like to congratulate Geert Wilders on this victory. It is clear: the population is yearning for real change. Not only in the Netherlands, but also in Flanders. Parties like ours are coming all over Europe!" Santiago Abascal of Spain's Vox posts: "More and more Europeans demand in the streets and at the polls that their nations, their borders and their rights be defended."

Defended from anti-White racism, that is.

—

As great replacement theorists claim that (anti-White) racism is worsening, they simultaneously continue to say that their nations are "not racist." In February 2023, Fox News host Rachel Campos-Duffy aired a segment on the tragic train derailment in the predominantly White town of East Palestine, Ohio. To deflect blame from the Trump administration's deregulation of safety protocols, Campos-Duffy said, "There is systemic racism and classism, and it's against white working-class Americans who voted for Trump when living in Trump country." Two months later, President Biden identified "White supremacy" as "the most dangerous terrorist threat in our homeland," and Campos-Duffy responded, "America is not racist. America is the least racist country in the world."

In 2020, Charlie Kirk, the co-founder of the organization Turning Point USA, posted: "America is the least racist country in the world" and "America is the least racist country to ever exist." Three years later, Kirk posted: "Our media is so frenzied with anti-white hatred that any time a black person fabricates an attack by whites it's

national news. But in countless American cities anti-white violence happens routinely and nobody cares." He also stated in 2023 that "in urban America, prowling Blacks go around for fun to target white people, that's a fact. It's happening more and more." This resembles the White genocide theory that Dylann Roof carried with his gun into a Black church in Charleston, South Carolina, eight years earlier. But data disputes this White genocide theory from Roof and Kirk. Less than 1 percent of U.S. hate crimes over the last five years were attributed to anti-White bias.

On his podcast on March 1, 2024, Kirk said, "The great replacement strategy, which is well under way every single day in our southern border, is a strategy to replace white rural America with something different." On September 10, 2025, Kirk was shot and killed as he spoke at Utah Valley University. The killing became international news. A twenty-two-year-old man named Tyler Robinson from rural Utah has been charged with the murder. Robinson was identified as White, as is typical of murderers of White Americans.

—

As many times as Tucker Carlson has raged about anti-White racism exploding around the United States, on November 3, 2021, he took a different tone. He said that the election of Winsome Earle-Sears, a Black Republican woman, as lieutenant governor of Virginia—who appeared on screen holding an AR-15 in a photo—demonstrated an "essential point and it's clear that most Americans…tonight agree with it. This is not a racist country. Stop telling us that it is."

A few weeks later, on November 22, 2021, Carlson interviewed Kyle Rittenhouse, who had just been acquitted of murder. On August 25, 2020, the seventeen-year-old Rittenhouse traveled from his Illinois hometown to Kenosha, Wisconsin. This fan of Donald Trump aspired to be a police officer. He arrived on the streets of

Kenosha, where people were demonstrating against the White police officer who had shot and paralyzed a twenty-nine-year-old Black man named Jacob Blake two days before. Brandishing his AR-15 style rifle at the demonstration, Rittenhouse shot and killed Joseph Rosenbaum and Anthony Huber, two antiracist White demonstrators who tried to disarm him.

On his show, Carlson introduced Rittenhouse as "bright, decent, sincere, dutiful, and hardworking. Exactly the kind of person you would want many more of in your country." More than five million viewers watched the hour-long "Kyle Rittenhouse Interview." It ended up being the second-most-watched episode of *Tucker Carlson Tonight* in 2021.

CHAPTER 56

Dutch First

Wilders must feel on cloud nine. But the congratulatory statements for Wilders in 2023 pale in comparison to the statements in the wake of Trump's election as U.S. president on November 8, 2016, following on the heels of Brexit months earlier. Few developments catalyzed the resurgence of great replacement parties more than Trump's stunning first election victory. Party leaders instantly knew it.

The day after the 2016 election, Marine Le Pen took the stage at party headquarters. Trump's win signified a "great movement across the world" that included Brexit. Days later, Le Pen proclaimed on the BBC that Trump "made possible what had previously been presented as impossible." From New Zealand, Winston Peters posted on Facebook on election night: "Today the USA joined the UK in sending the establishment a message." On election night, AfD chair Frauke Petry from Germany posted an AfD-branded graphic that declared: "This night changes the USA, Europe and the world!" On November 9, Wilders published "The Second American Revolution Has Come" on *Breitbart.* "Yesterday, in the biggest democracy on earth, we witnessed a political revolution," he wrote. "Now it is time for Europe. We can and will do the same!" Meanwhile, Camus noted, "With Donald Trump America began to

realise that it was itself just as menaced by the frightful Great Remplacement [Replacement] as Europe is."

After Trump's election, Wilders's Party for Freedom, Le Pen's National Front, Germany's Af D, and Austria's Freedom Party increased their vote shares in the 2017 elections. The electoral success of the Freedom Party allowed it to receive the long-desired interior and foreign ministries for the first time in its history. New Zealand First, too, accumulated the third-most seats in New Zealand's parliamentary elections. Freedom and Direct Democracy secured twenty-two seats in its first parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic. During the campaign, party leader Tomio Okamura pledged, "We want to stop any Islamisation of the Czech Republic, we push for zero tolerance of migration." And Sigmundur Davíð Gunnlaugsson, a former prime minister of Iceland, founded its Centre Party in 2017.

Researchers Dawid Fusiek and Cecilia Marconi found that Trump's policies and statements between 2016 and 2020 influenced the discourse of European great replacement parties, namely Germany's Af D, Hungary's Fidesz, and Italy's Lega Nord (Northern League). Within days of being inaugurated as U.S. president in 2017, Trump signed an executive order that blocked refugees from Syria and banned citizens of seven predominantly Muslim countries from coming to the United States. "In many European states, where animosity against Muslim migrants has been robust, this decision revamped and popularized these presuppositions and the perception that Islam does not belong in western societies," Fusiek and Marconi wrote.

—

Supporters cheer and clap. They take cellphone videos and pictures as Wilders enters the room at the Café 't Seepaardje. The crowd battles for positioning with television journalists and their bulky

cameras. Wilders waves his right hand at the applauding crowd and stone-faced journalists. He takes his position at the informal speaking area, a red-cushioned corner wall. Affixed to the right of the wall's corner is the PVV's simple campaign poster: "VOTE PVV" alongside Wilders's stoic face. Above the poster are multicolored string lights. Blue and white balloons line the crease between the walls and ceiling. A cozy birthday party feel.

"Thirty-five seats!" Wilders shouts. "The largest party in the Netherlands!" His supporters cheer.

"I tell you: the Netherlands, the voter has spoken tonight," Wilders says, lowering his voice, signaling for the crowd to do the same. "The voter has said: we are fed up with it. We are sick of it and we want—and we will ensure that—the Dutchman comes first again."

And there were other people who were fed up, who no longer believed in voting. They decided to use political violence.

CHAPTER 57

Christchurch

A team of researchers at the Oxford Internet Institute found that between 2015 and 2017, YouTubers usually posted about White people being the only racial "group 'discriminated against' with impunity." By 2020 and 2021, the researchers revealed, YouTubers "no longer spoke about anti-whiteness through a defensive framework." The YouTubers spoke in a way that "indicates that the idea had become normalized within reactionary political discourse and no longer needed to be 'proven' as a reality." The researchers had examined more than three hundred YouTube channels that produced content in English propagating "disinformation and/or extremism." They cited "the critical race theory moral panic and vitriolic backlash against racial justice protests throughout 2020" as the turning points. "Our findings point to a worrying trend: right-wing talking points that position white people as marginalized, oppressed, or otherwise victimized are increasingly normalized on YouTube," they concluded. "Perceived white victimhood has resulted in antisemitic and racist violence time and time again."

Armed in tactical gear and wearing a helmet-mounted camera, Brenton Tarrant, a thirty-year-old White Australian man, began a Facebook livestream on the afternoon of March 15, 2019. He entered Al Noor Mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand. He moved from room to room, shooting and killing forty-four Muslims. He

departed the mosque, hopped in his car. He addressed his online audience about what he did, speeding to Linwood Islamic Centre three miles away. There, he murdered another seven Muslims. Police captured him during his trip to a third mosque.

—

Living off an inheritance from his father, Tarrant had traveled the world in the years before the Christchurch massacre. Before visiting France in 2017, he'd dismissed stories "of the invasion of France by nonwhites." But at a shopping mall in eastern France, he witnessed these "invaders" for himself, in a scene reminiscent of Camus's awakening. He believed Marine Le Pen's loss in the presidential election that year ended the possibility of a democratic solution to the purported great replacement.

Tarrant grew up in Australia, coming of age amid a discourse in which politicians and theorists demanded their government "stop the boats." The great replacement slogan "Stop the boats" had actually migrated from Australia to the UK. The situation in the UK in 2023 resembled the situation in Australia a decade earlier. Thousands of migrants were making hazardous journeys on small boats to Australia from nearby countries like Sri Lanka and Indonesia. On July 17, 2013, Australia's most prominent great replacement politician, Pauline Hanson, tweeted, "One Nation releases their policy to STOP THE BOATS!"

The manufactured anger over Asian and Muslim immigrants induced voters to elect Hanson to the Australian Senate in 2016, along with three other candidates from One Nation, the great replacement party she founded. Hanson had won a seat in the House of Representatives in 1996 but lost her reelection bid in 1998. In the Senate, Hanson represents Queensland, the state north of Tarrant's home state of New South Wales on Australia's east coast. Hanson lives about three hours north of Tarrant's

hometown of Grafton. "In my first speech in 1996 I said we were in danger of being swamped by Asians," Hanson said in her return address in Parliament, on September 14, 2016. "Now we are in danger of being swamped by Muslims, who bear a culture and ideology that is incompatible with our own."

—

Before driving to the mosques, Tarrant posted and emailed out a seventy-four-page manifesto he'd titled "The Great Replacement." The two mosques had a "large group of invaders, from a culture with higher fertility rates, higher social trust and strong, robust traditions that seek to occupy my peoples [*sic*] lands and ethnically replace my own people," Tarrant wrote. "This crisis of mass immigration and sub-replacement fertility is an assault on the European people that, if not combated, will ultimately result in the complete racial and cultural replacement of the European people."

The end of the manifesto consisted of a series of questions and answers. The first question: "What do you want?" Tarrant answered with a paraphrase of David Lane's fourteen words: "We must ensure the existence of our people, and a future for white children."

Tarrant and his manifesto radicalized several other great replacement soldiers. "In general, I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto," wrote Patrick Wood Crusius, the El Paso shooter, in his manifesto five months later. Three years later, Buffalo shooter Payton Gendron shared that "Brenton started my real research into the problems with immigration and foreigners in our White lands, without his livestream I would likely have no idea about the real problems the West is facing."

—

Days after the attack, Renaud Camus condemned the Christchurch massacre. But he liked that people were taking "notice of the ethnic

substitution that is in progress in my country." He hoped the "counterrevolt" to free Europe of "demographic colonization" one day "becomes stronger."

Deputy Prime Minister Winston Peters, New Zealand's most notable great replacement politician, kept a low profile after the attack. It took six days before he stated, "On the 15th March, our country changed forever. Changing gun laws is a necessary and significant policy response." Geert Wilders appeared on Dutch television to offer his "sympathy to all those people, the victims and their families." He added, "You can do nothing but distance yourself in the most powerful way from idiots who think that violence solves anything." Well, he could have also distanced himself in the most powerful way from the great replacement theory fueling the violence. President Donald Trump denounced the "horrible massacre." When asked if he thought it represented the growing threat of racist violence, Trump responded, "I don't, really."

Senator Pauline Hanson appeared on Australian television, on the Seven Network's *Sunrise,* with host David Koch. "This terrorist manifesto almost reads like One Nation immigration and Muslim policy. Do you in any way feel complicit with this atrocity?" Koch asked Hanson.

Hanson evaded the question and turned the questioning back on the interviewer. "Why [do] we have these terrorist attacks in this country?" she asked, saying it was necessary to "debate the issues."

"Most of the terrorist attacks are [carried out by] right-wing white supremacists that are egged on by your comments," Koch responded. Hanson interrupted, "That's a load of rubbish." People have lost their country in England, Sweden, and France, she argued —just as Tarrant argued in his manifesto.

CHAPTER 58

A Forecast

"I **would like to** thank everyone in the Netherlands for their support," Wilders continues his victory speech. "Thirty-five seats is a huge compliment, but also a huge responsibility for us. For every PVV member. Because the hope of all those people, two million people voted for the PVV, we will have to do our best to make that come true. And that is what we will do.

"PVV wants to work from a wonderful position where you can no longer be ignored by any party, working together. That means that every party, including ours, will have to rise above its shadow," Wilders says. "That we will have to come up with solutions within the framework of the law and the constitution, but which ensure that the hopes of the Dutch people, who today have chosen the agenda of hope, that it will be number one again."

Wilders's address to his supporters in that congested brown café parroted Trump's first inaugural address in front of the U.S. Capitol. Trump took the stage as an ABC News camera panned over a crowd of White faces wearing red "Make America Great Again" hats. "January 20, 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again," Trump declared. "This American carnage stops right here and stops right now…. From this day forward, it's going to be only America first."

Trump's "American Carnage" speech, as it came to be known, connected to the rhetoric of great replacement politicians declaiming anti-White racism around the world. White people live in nations structured with racist policies and practices that end up putting White people first by nearly every major socioeconomic measurement. But White people are being encouraged to ignore that statistical reality. They are being encouraged to view the rising antiracist movement as the rise of anti-White racism. Fittingly, the original great replacement theories of White victimhood can be traced back to a moment when global White supremacy had reached its zenith.

—

One pioneering great replacement theorist was born in London in 1830. He studied at Oxford and became a history professor, but grew disillusioned with academia. He set off for Australia, failed at raising sheep and running a farm, and then returned to lecture at Cambridge. He lost his parents and went back to Australia again, in 1871, to combine farming with an academic and political life. His name was Charles Henry Pearson.

After retiring from politics in 1892, Pearson finished his book *National Life and Character: A Forecast* at the height of Europe's colonization of the world. It was published in 1893. In it, he envisioned what Camus would later name "counter-colonialism."

"The day will come, and perhaps is not far distant," when White people "shall wake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled, and perhaps even thrust aside by peoples whom we looked down upon as servile." Declining birth rates and socialism have made the White race "stationary," while the "black and yellow races" are powered by higher birth rates and rapid population increases. The day will come when "the lower races will predominate in the world" and "the higher races will lose their noblest elements, when we shall ask

nothing from the day but to live." Fears about decolonization and the fall of global White supremacy began the history of great replacement theory. Pearson thought in zero-sum terms. Either White people ruled, or they would be ruled.

Pearson's book became a must-read around the colonizing world. Future U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt sent his regards from New York. William Ewart Gladstone, the British prime minister, pushed the book on people in London, where Pearson died in 1894.

National Life and Character: A Forecast influenced the development of a "White Australia policy" to restrict the immigration of peoples of color, especially Asian immigrants, when the six British colonies of Australia united in 1901. One of the first laws enacted in the Commonwealth of Australia was the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. It was formulated by Alfred Deakin, a mentee of Pearson's and Australia's second prime minister. The bill was touted by Edmund Barton, Australia's first prime minister. In August 1901, Barton quoted from Pearson's book in Parliament to consummate the White Australia policy as governmental policy. Barton was a member of the so-called "Australian Natives' Association"—an association, that is, of White "natives"—which acted as if the Aboriginal Australians didn't exist. Australia did not fully outlaw the White Australia policy until the 1970s. Only for it to be revived—in spirit, at least—in the twenty-first century by great replacement politicians screaming, "Stop the boats."

In the United States, though, great replacement politicians have largely *not* called for a return to the immigration policies of the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER 59

Rising Tide of Color

Returning to America's immigration policies of the early twentieth century would be political suicide for Trump Republicans. Why remind many White Americans that their immigrant ancestors had been demonized in the manner Trump now demonizes Black and Brown immigrants in the twenty-first century? Why remind these voters that they, as White people, were not being persecuted as a group, just as their immigrant ancestors were not persecuting Anglo-Saxon Americans?

Take Francis Amasa Walker, one of the most eminent Anglo-Saxon Americans of his day. His résumé: Civil War general. President of MIT. President of the American Statistical Association. Superintendent of the 1870 and 1880 censuses. Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Professor of history at Yale. In the June 1896 issue of *The Atlantic,* Walker conceived of the *past-good-immigrant* versus *present-bad-immigrant* dichotomy that great replacement politicians have used the world over in the twenty-first century. Immigrants to the United States used to be "among the most enterprising, thrifty, alert, adventurous, and courageous of the community from which [they] came," he wrote. By his time, however, "every foul and stagnant pool of population in Europe" was being "decanted upon our soil."

The Boston-born Walker advocated for American officials to shut down the nation's *eastern* border to stop the imagined invasion of Europeans. Meanwhile, Edward Alsworth Ross, a sociologist teaching out west at Stanford University, advocated for American officials to shut down the nation's *western* border to stop the imagined invasion of Asians. Whether it was the Asian "race" growing in the west or the Eastern and Southern European "races" growing in the east, Ross implored the Anglo-Saxon "race" to end this "race suicide." Ross provided an intellectual rationale for the activism of the Asiatic Exclusion League, founded in 1905 in San Francisco with the motto "Keeping California White." (Incidentally, fifty years later, months before resigning as prime minister, Winston Churchill told his cabinet that "Keep England White" was a good motto.)

Walker and Ross had almost certainly been read by Madison Grant, the great replacement theorist who in 1916 authored *The Passing of the Great Race.* Grant's treatise projected that when "two distinct species" live "side by side," only two things could happen. Either one race replaces the other, "as the negroes are now replacing the whites in various parts of the South," or else "they amalgamate and form a population of race bastards in which the lower type ultimately preponderates." Grant noted, "The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian; the cross between a white man and a negro is a negro; the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu; and the cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew." (Those "three European races" were "Nordic," "Alpine," and "Mediterranean.") There is a "great danger" of a "replacement of a higher by a lower type here in America," unless the "Nordic" American—that is, the Anglo-Saxon "native" American, in Grant's telling—"uses his superior intelligence to protect himself and his children…from the lowest races of eastern Europe and western Asia." Grant preferred the term "Nordic" over "Anglo-Saxon" or "Aryan," though all three appear in his book.

Even before shaping Hitler, Madison Grant shaped the eugenicist who wrote the other most influential great replacement book of the 1920s, next to Hitler's *Mein Kampf.* Born just outside of Boston, trained in history and law at Boston universities, Lothrop Stoddard was a proud member of the resurgent Ku Klux Klan, and he became a one-man think tank before think tanks were a thing. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, he wrote prolifically on the supposed superiority of White people, and he regularly testified before Congress about restricting immigration. Nazi theorists could not get enough of Stoddard. He returned the admiration by touring Nazi Germany in 1939. Stoddard met with Hitler and Heinrich Himmler, the monstrous overseer of the Holocaust.

In 1922, Stoddard published *The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under Man.* "Under Man," or *Untermensch* in German, became one of the Nazis' favorite racist slurs levied at Roma people, Eastern Europeans, Jews, biracial people, and Black people. But Stoddard's most popular book—a bestseller—came after he witnessed White people slaughter one another by the millions in World War I. In 1920, Stoddard published *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy.* Madison Grant wrote the introduction. Grant implored the "Nordic race" to "fight," but "let that fight be not a civil war against its own blood kindred," as in World War I, "but against the dangerous foreign races, whether they advance sword in hand or in the more insidious guise of beggars at our gates, pleading for admittance to share our prosperity. If we continue to allow them to enter they will in time drive us out of our own lands by mere force of breeding." And if our "great race…should ultimately pass, with it would pass that which we call civilization."

On September 26, 2023, UK Home Secretary Suella Braverman addressed the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. She used population statistics to warn of the scale of potential replacers. "Thirty-seven percent of people living in sub-Saharan

Africa, some 481 million people, and 27 percent of those living in the Middle East and North Africa, around 156 million, say they'd like to migrate," Braverman said. She failed to mention that roughly half of migrants in Africa and the Middle East settled nearby, within their home regions, in the previous decade.

Lothrop Stoddard used population data in his opening chapter on "The World of Color" to make a similar point as Braverman. When the lands of the "colored races" increasingly become "congested," Stoddard wrote, they will want to empty their "accumulating human surplus" into the "white world."

Stoddard labeled "Asiatic immigration" from places like India—where Braverman's ancestors were from—to be "incomparably the greatest external problem which faces the white world." Heinrich Himmler made a similar case in April 1943, speaking before the SS. If Nazis such as Himmler viewed Jews as Europe's greatest *internal* replacer, then Himmler viewed Asians as Europe's greatest *external* replacer. Himmler called on White Germans to "unite," to settle the continent, and to "breed, as in a botanical garden." Only then "can the Continent become a Germanic Continent, capable of daring to embark, in one or two or three or five or ten generations, on the conflict with this Continent of Asia which spews out hordes of humanity."

Stoddard warned that inferior White immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe "can gravely disorder the national life" of the United States. But "the colored immigrant would doom it to certain death." Opposition to "colored immigration" must unite all White people everywhere. In his final words, Stoddard declared: "The grim truth of the matter is this: The whole white race is exposed, immediately or ultimately, to the possibility of social sterilization and final replacement or absorption by the teeming colored races."

—

Nazi theorists could not have agreed more. They warned against absorption by teeming Jews, who made up less than 1 percent of Germany's population. They wanted to maintain the "racial hygiene" of Germany, a term that Alfred Ploetz, one of the fathers of German eugenics, popularized in an 1895 treatise. A decade later, Ploetz co-founded the German Society for Racial Hygiene.

The eugenicist Fritz Lenz eclipsed Ploetz in prominence during the interwar years. He led the Munich chapter of Ploetz's Society for Racial Hygiene. In 1921, Lenz and two other authors published *Grundriss der menschlichen Erblichkeitslehre und Rassenhygiene* (*Outline of Human Genetics and Racial Hygiene*). In the wake of the book's success, the University of Munich appointed Lenz as its first professor of "racial hygiene" in 1923. Which was the very year Lenz's Munich publisher, Julius Friedrich Lehmann, gave a copy of the second edition of this textbook to an incarcerated Nazi leader who'd made a name for himself in Munich: Adolf Hitler.

A century ago, Nazi great replacement theorists proposed a genetic construction of the nation's "racial hygiene." In the twenty-first century, neo-Nazi great replacement theorists advocate for a cultural construction of the nation's "racial hygiene." The underlying structure of "racial hygiene" has remained the same, even if the old genetic basis for it has been renovated into culture. The Nazi opposition to interracial cohabitation ravaging the nation's genetic purity is now the neo-Nazi opposition to multiculturalism ravaging the nation's cultural purity. Neo-Nazis argue that immigrants of color cannot be integrated into the nation because they refuse to give up their "alien" cultures. Hitler made the same case about Jews, connecting racial genes to racial culture. "Jews have never yet adopted much more than the language of the foreign nations among whom they live," Hitler wrote on September 16, 1919. "Jews in general have maintained their race and their peculiarities far more distinctly than many of the peoples among whom they have lived."

—

In Geert Wilders's final words in his short victory speech, he pleads with his fellow parties to unite in coalition and accept his leadership. It will take him six months to finally strike a deal for the new governing coalition of parties of the Netherlands. Wilders and the leaders of the other parties in the coalition all agree not to become prime minister. But for now he has more power than ever to carry out the solution to the purported great replacement: the link that comes next. Putting the supposed first people first and ridding the nation of everyone else.

LINK 6

White Christians are indigenous to the nation.

↓

Majority and privileged groups are indigenous to the nation.

//

Alice Weidel

Germany

CHAPTER 60

Wolf in Shepherd's Clothing

On January 18, 2024, legislators gather in the Reichstag, Germany's parliament building, located in Berlin's Republic Square. Maybe some Germans who had been demonstrating across the country trek up to the Reichstag's iconic glass dome. Maybe they look down into the debating chamber below, designed like an amphitheater, to watch Lars Klingbeil explode on his major rival—one of Geert Wilders's major allies.

Legislators peer down at Klingbeil as German citizens peer down at their legislators from the glass dome. Klingbeil wears a navy blue suit jacket and a white dress shirt, no tie. He is the co-leader of Germany's ruling center-left Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD), or Social Democratic Party. His major rival is Alice Weidel, the co-leader of Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), Germany's second-most-popular political party and most prominent great replacement party.

Klingbeil dubs Weidel a "wolf in sheep's clothing." Not completely true. Great replacement politicians do operate, in policy, like wolves. But these politicians aren't necessarily clothed as sheep. They clothe everyday White Christians as sheep. Great replacement politicians dress up, in rhetoric, as shepherds who protect the sheep. "God looked down on his planned paradise and said, 'I need a caretaker,' so God gave us Trump," began one Trump

campaign video in January 2024. Trump is "a shepherd to mankind who won't ever leave nor forsake them." The history of great replacement politicians is the history of political wolves in shepherds' clothing herding sheep from privileged groups toward their own domination.

Klingbeil continues, "At kitchen tables across Germany, German citizens are having to discuss with each other whether they should flee their own country." Why? Because Weidel and her AfD want to "expel those who are not white enough" or "have the 'wrong' surname."

"Your facade is beginning to crumble," Klingbeil says. He stares down the AfD delegation. "The true face of the AfD is clearly coming to light."

A neo-Nazi face.

—

The week prior to Klingbeil's speech, on January 10, 2024, the nonprofit investigative newsroom *Correctiv* published a bombshell story on its website. *Correctiv* had uncovered a secret meeting of great replacement financiers, transnational political operatives, and AfD members. It was at least the seventh meeting of its kind, reflecting a global trend. Since Trump's election in 2016, great replacement politicians and theorists had been increasingly organizing international meetings, networks, charters, and associations. For a long time, these extremists had concentrated domestically, battling for their own nations before shifting to the transnational battle to defend the White race, noted political scientist Alexander Ritzmann. Which is why terming great replacement theorists "White nationalists" doesn't fully capture their new identity and ideology.

Those assembled at the secret meeting planned the "remigration" of immigrants and citizens of color from Germany to

other countries. The news left antiracist Germans reeling. For several days, organizers estimated that more than one million people took to the streets all over Germany to demonstrate against the plan and against the Af D.

The secret meeting occurred on November 25, 2023, three days after Geert Wilders's election victory in the Netherlands next door. Attendees believed immigrants and "non-assimilated" German citizens needed to be removed from Germany and Europe because their very presence harmed White Germans, White Europeans. Camus shared their belief. The "invasion" and "occupation" by replacers of color is "settler colonialism," Camus argued in *You Will Not Replace Us!* "The sole method emerging to put an end to the process and do away with settler colonialism is *remigration,* i.e. the departure of the occupying forces, made up of settler communities…. Without remigration there will be no liberation."

For the attendees of the secret remigration meeting, multiple cultures, or multiculturalism, undermined White German culture, White European cultures. Which is to say, these attendees believed the mere *presence* of multiple cultures was anti-White. In this sense, "non-assimilated" German citizens of color represent the conceptual renovation of those Jewish citizens who Nazis argued had not assimilated. The Nazi (Aryan) blood and soil became the neo-Nazi (White) culture and soil. Attendees believed that remigrating peoples of color out of the nation would cleanse the nation, improve its *cultural* hygiene, to renovate the Nazi phrase. Because attendees believed only White Christians were indigenous to their nation: the sixth link in the chain of ideas.

The debate on January 18, 2024, is one of many in the Reichstag referencing the secret immigration meeting. Perhaps the most explosive parliamentary debate on this topic occurs nearly two weeks later, when the German parliament commemorates International Holocaust Remembrance Day. The connections to the worst days in German history cannot be ignored or denied. Before

the debate, German lawmakers hold a special session to remember the Holocaust.

CHAPTER 61

Speak for All

A ninety-one-year-old woman stands before the German lawmakers. It is January 31, 2024, and Holocaust commemorations are continuing in the Bundestag, the lower house of parliament, several days after the official ceremonies. The elderly woman wears a navy dress suit, a white blouse, white pearls. She looks upon a human sea of German lawmakers wearing dark suits and dark blouses and dress shirts. They seem dressed for a funeral.

Eva Szepesi reads her prepared remarks. She slides her fingers across the page. Her red nails point to each word. Her glasses put each word in focus.

Each word about being kidnapped as a twelve-year-old. Nazis took her to their largest extermination camp, Auschwitz-Birkenau, in German-occupied Poland. She had been one of millions of Jews whom Nazis and their collaborators rounded up and forcibly remigrated from where they lived—in her case, Hungary.

"I had no idea then," Szepesi says to the legislators, "that my mother and my brother Tomasz had arrived there four months before me and were gassed upon arrival."

In January 1945, the Soviet Red Army liberated Szepesi from Auschwitz-Birkenau. "Every day I think of my murdered family, and I often wonder why I survived," Szepesi says. "It has become the

meaning of my life to speak for all of those who can no longer speak."

—

Wearing his black suit and a black tie, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz, of the SPD, addresses the parliament. He succeeded Angela Merkel in 2021. "Eva Szepesi has just told us: those who remain silent are complicit," Scholz opens. "The memorial event made a strong impression on all of us. But it also gave us a task: that we should not remain silent when conferences are held in country houses in this country, where discussions are held about how part of the population can be brought out of this country, with 'remigration' as the keyword—this is reminiscent of the darkest times in German history."

Alice Weidel, in her black skirt suit, approaches the podium after Scholz finishes his speech. She is ready to orchestrate her party's distance from the secret remigration meeting, from the worst times in German history. Her best defense: offense.

CHAPTER 62

Burning

"**Germany is burning** down," Alice Weidel charges in her address on January 31, 2024. "And this government of overburdened misfits and stubborn ideologues is the arsonist."

Arsonists burned *that very parliamentary building* on February 27, 1933. After the fire, it could no longer be used. The German parliament did not begin using the building again until after its renovation and redesign, completed in 1999.

Nazi propagandists falsely blamed the German Communist Party for the Reichstag fire. They claimed the arson presaged a violent communist revolution to halt Germany's "national renewal." Nazis demanded emergency powers to stop the communists. The day after the fire, the new chancellor of Germany, Adolf Hitler, and his cabinet issued the Reichstag Fire Decree. It suspended civil liberties such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press. It gave the Nazi regime the legal authority to dissolve anti-Nazi political organizations. It provided Nazi police the immunity to kidnap anti-Nazi Germans and haul them to concentration camps. This decree—"For the Protection of the People and the State"—opened the legal door to Hitler's dictatorship against the people and the state.

Germans voted for this. Germans handed the most votes to Hitler's Nazi Party in the parliamentary elections on July 31, 1932,

on November 6, 1932, and on March 5, 1933, ultimately giving the Nazi Party the power to broker a ruling coalition with smaller parties. A century later, those votes kept coming for new and old neo-Nazi parties, in 2018 and 2019.

—

In September 2018, Maxime Bernier founded the People's Party of Canada. Pledging to reduce immigration, he expressed that immigrants must "adopt widely shared Canadian values, Western civilization values," as he equated multiculturalism with an embrace of "barbarism."

In October 2018, Fabricio Alvarado formed the Partido Nueva República (New Republic Party) after nearly winning Costa Rica's presidential election earlier in the year. Alvarado blamed migrants for the rise in homicide rates. He decried policies protecting the rights of women and queer people, on the pretext they were advancing "gender ideology," which was "contrary to nature."

In June 2018, the Slovenian Democratic Party amassed more votes than any other party in Slovenia, while, in Colombia, Democratic Center candidate Iván Duque claimed the presidency. But the most important victory for great replacement politicians in 2018 was the triumph of Jair Bolsonaro in the presidential contest in Brazil. His presidential campaign "recalls the rhetoric behind Nazi policies of persecution and victimization," historian Federico Finchelstein contended. Media outlets dubbed Bolsonaro the "Trump of the Tropics." A former military officer of Italian and German ancestry, he voiced appreciation for the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil from 1964 to 1985.

Perhaps stirred by Bolsonaro's election, Guido Manini Ríos became the leader of Uruguay's newly founded Cabildo Abierto (Open Town Hall) party in 2019. He accumulated 11 percent of the first-round presidential vote that year. A former commander in chief

of the armed forces, Ríos defended officials on trial for human rights abuses committed during Uruguay's former civilian-military dictatorship. He portrayed himself as a patriotic fighter against globalization and "gender ideology."

In India, Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party portrayed its members as Hindu patriots defending against the nation's Muslims. In 2019, the BJP accrued 303 of the 543 seats in India's lower house of parliament. Poland's Law and Justice had its best performance in any election in the European Parliament election that year, obtaining 45 percent of the vote. Portugal's Chega and Romania's Alianța Pentru Unirea Românilor (Alliance for the Union of Romanians) were established in 2019. Spain's Vox had its best parliamentary election performance to date in November 2019.

In Belgium's parliamentary elections in 2019, Flemish Interest accumulated the second-most votes. Recognizing the party's newfound power, the Belgian king met with party leader Tom Van Grieken. When was the last time the King of Belgium met with a great replacement party leader? In 1936, King Leopold III met with Léon Degrelle, who led the Rexist Party, which later collaborated with Nazi Germany in its occupation of Belgium.

—

A month before the 2019 European Parliament elections, Matteo Salvini, the leader of Italy's Lega (League), hosted leaders from the Af D, the Finns Party, and the Danish People's Party. They all shared a derision for the European Union, immigrants of color, and multiculturalism. They united to form what they later named Identity and Democracy, or the ID group.

Each group in the European Parliament functions like a political party. The more seats for the group—or transnational party of parties—the more power they collectively wield. The ID group had an ambitious goal: unite into one Eurosceptic group all the great

replacement parties that were scattered across three groups, including Nigel Farage's Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy, active from 2014 to 2019, and the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), founded in 2009. Over the years, the ECR has brought together, among others, Poland's Law and Justice, the Sweden Democrats, Greek Solution, and Fratelli d'Italia (Brothers of Italy).

The origins of Identity and Democracy lie in the European Alliance for Freedom, founded in 2010, linking Le Pen's National Front and Wilders's Party for Freedom. In 2015, after the European Alliance for Freedom failed to amass enough allies, Wilders and Le Pen created the Europe of Nations and Freedom. In January 2017, leaders of the parties in the Europe of Nations and Freedom group gathered in Koblenz, Germany. They saluted the recent election of Donald Trump. In her speech, Le Pen said, "2016 was the year the Anglo-Saxon world woke up." Wilders raged that "blond" Europeans were at risk of becoming "strangers in their own countries" due to "Islamization." Marcus Pretzell of AfD slammed several German media outlets. Chants of "*Lügenpresse!*" erupted in response—a Nazi term meaning "lying press," renovated by neo-Nazis to refer to their conception of "fake news."

In 2019, the new ID group supplanted the Europe of Nations and Freedom. Nigel Farage's Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy group was dissolved that year, but his Brexit Party declined to join with ID. Within no time, though, France's National Rally, Germany's AfD, Italy's League, the Conservative People's Party of Estonia, Czechia's Freedom and Direct Democracy, Belgium's Flemish Interest, the Danish People's Party, and the Freedom Party of Austria joined the ID group. "European civilisation, its Christian heritage and national identities should be protected and embraced," the group decreed.

The decree of Alice Weidel's political career.

CHAPTER 63

Cult of Innocence

Alice Weidel is forty-four years old when the German parliament commemorates International Holocaust Remembrance Day in 2024. She is six days shy of her forty-fifth birthday as she goes on the offensive to orchestrate her party's distance from the neo-Nazi remigration meeting. Weidel is younger than Marine Le Pen, Viktor Orbán, José Antonio Kast, Nigel Farage, and Geert Wilders.

Weidel was born in 1979, the same year her political idol, Margaret Thatcher, became prime minister of the UK. Weidel became an investment banker and pursued her doctorate in economics. She and her dissertation adviser, the late economist Peter Oberender, bonded over their shared Eurosceptic objection to the euro. Weidel called for "Dexit," or Germany's withdrawal from the euro.

When the Great Recession ravaged Europe beginning in 2008, when the EU, the International Monetary Fund, and Germany provided multibillion-euro bailouts to debt-constrained and poorer Southern European countries, Weidel couldn't have been more furious. Other Germans furious at the bailouts—journalists Alexander Gauland and Konrad Adam and economics professor Bernd Lucke—established the AfD in 2013. Weidel joined. That year, she privately emailed a friend: "The reason why we are flooded by peoples with foreign cultures such as Arabs, Sinti and

Roma etc. is the systematic destruction of civil society." She classified Germany's elected leaders as "puppets of the victorious powers of the Second World War" with the task "to keep the German people small by inducing molecular civil wars in the urban centers through foreign infiltration." *Überfremdung,* or foreign infiltration, is a Nazi term renovated for great replacement theory.

When the Merkel administration in 2015 took in 1.1 million immigrants (representing about 1 percent of Germany's population at the time), the AfD shifted its focus to immigration. Weidel's private great replacement views could now be made public. Germany must close its borders, abolish its current asylum law, or expect a "mass rush to Europe and Germany" and "further infiltration" by Islamic "criminals," she said. Weidel cast immigrants from the Middle East as "illiterate" (while in the same interview she acknowledged their departure from the region was a "huge 'brain drain' "). After braiding propaganda with facts, she straightened her rhetoric out for future interviews. She dropped the line about brain drain—and its unsaid implication: Germany and Europe *gained* precious brainpower from Brown and Black immigration.

The AfD emerged from the European migrant crisis as the most popular great replacement party in Germany, eclipsing the much older party Die Heimat (The Homeland), which was established in 1964 and originally named the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (National Democratic Party of Germany). One of its founders was Adolf von Thadden, a former Nazi army officer during World War II.

The AfD and Die Heimat built common ground in recent years. On June 24, 2024, the two parties announced coalitions in local councils in the state of Brandenburg, outside of Berlin. Reporting on the coalitions, the *Spiegel International* headline, translated from German to English, read: "AfD Founds First Factions with Neo-Nazi Party." A more accurate headline might have been: "Newest Neo-

Nazi Party Founds First Factions with Germany's Oldest Neo-Nazi Party."

—

Weidel and AfD co-founder Alexander Gauland led their party's candidates for the 2017 federal parliamentary elections. Weidel yet again framed post–World War II German life in the manner Nazis framed post–World War I German life. "The atrocities committed against the German population after the Second World War" had been "erased from collective memory," Weidel posted. "Because it doesn't fit in with the cult of guilt." A cult of guilt that Adolf Hitler despised. Until his last breath, Hitler despised the Weimar leaders for accepting German guilt for World War I.

When she assumed her leadership post on June 18, 2022, Weidel became the most unlikely co-leader of the AfD—if we focus on her identity instead of her ideology. That's because she is a lesbian woman leading a party overwhelmingly peopled by homophobic men. Still, Weidel categorized feminist and queer educational material as "gender idiocy" and opposed "sexualisation classes coming near my children."

When Germany legalized same-sex marriage in 2017, the AfD's website posted a death notice "to the German family." Like the UK's Andrew Pierce, Weidel opposes same-sex marriage. She claimed to be most fearful of Muslim immigrants who have "swamped the country" and who consider "homosexuality a crime." Swamped? Around 6 percent of Germans were Muslims when Weidel said this. Research has consistently shown that overwhelming majorities of Muslims "strongly reject violence in the name of Islam," to quote one study. But for Weidel, positioning Muslim immigrants as violently homophobic allowed her to position the AfD as "the only political force that dares to address the threats, discrimination and attacks on homosexual people in Germany by primarily Muslim

immigrants." Police data say otherwise. A Berlin police report in 2024 attributed 12 percent of the "hate-motivated crimes" against LGBTQ people to "right-wing ideology," and around 3 percent each to "religious ideology" and "foreign ideology."

Weidel's proximity denial extends to race. She has been in a long-term relationship with a woman of Sinhalese descent, the largest ethnic group in Sri Lanka. So, apparently, she can't be racist? Weidel has said, "There are no racists in the AfD." And after she demanded that Germany close its borders, Weidel traveled over the border to her home in Willerzell, Switzerland. That's where she has lived for years with her Sinhalese partner, a Swiss filmmaker, and their two adopted sons. For election purposes, Weidel has been registered as a resident at her parents' home in Überlingen, Germany. But for all other intents and purposes, Weidel has legal residency in Switzerland.

That's not all.

Who did Weidel once hire to clean her home? Someone from the group she wants to rid from Europe: a Syrian refugee.

Weidel is entirely a product of the twenty-first century. Contradictions and all. Grifting or true believing and all. In fact, women politicians, queer politicians, and politicians of color are likely the future leaders of great replacement parties. The more the sexism, homophobia, and racism of their parties turns off voters, the more great replacement parties will turn to women, gay people, and people of color to lead their parties—for proximity denial. Politicians like France's Marine Le Pen, America's Tim Scott and Marco Rubio, and Weidel have embodied their parties' orchestrated distancing from neo-Nazism. "Indeed, one of the primary requisites to the AfD's success in Germany has been its finesse in defying the category of neo-Nazi, and burnishing instead an image of polite, decorous populism, thanks to the likes of Weidel," explained Paul Hockenos, a Berlin-based journalist.

Every step great replacement politicians take away from being seen for what they truly are becomes another step toward electability. Which is why Weidel's speech before the parliament on January 31, 2024, was so crucial.

CHAPTER 64

Day of Potsdam

The timing of this parliamentary debate, after German legislators remembered a genocide of unfathomable magnitude justified with lies of unfathomable magnitude, does not restrain Weidel's lies. If anything, she seems emboldened in her speech to invert *Correctiv*'s mission.

Correctiv is the "auxiliary Stasi" of the government, Weidel charges, referring to the secret police of communist East Germany. The government provides *Correctiv* "with plenty of taxpayers' money" to feed the German public "incredible lies, defamation, and the most vile slander."

Channeling Trump, Weidel casts the *Correctiv* story as a "tax-financed denunciation against a competing party." AfD MPs love the line, loudly applaud.

But the facts that *Correctiv* paints on the secret meeting remain the facts.

—

It happened to be "a gloomy Saturday morning" in November 2023 at Landhaus Adlon, the location of the secret remigration meeting, *Correctiv* reported. The falling snow brought the gloom. The hotel

has a picturesque view over Lake Lehnitz just outside Potsdam, about an hour's drive west of Berlin.

"It may also be mere coincidence that the organisers of the event chose a location less than eight kilometres away from the villa where the Wannsee Conference took place—the meeting where the Nazis coordinated the systematic extermination of the Jews," *Correctiv* reported. It may not be a coincidence. The topics of the two conferences bore similarities. Organizers considered German Jews back then and Germans of color in recent years to be eternal immigrants.

At the Wannsee Conference in the Berlin suburb on January 20, 1942, Nazi leaders discussed the remigration and extermination of Jewish citizens in Western Europe. One of those leaders was Adolf Eichmann, an SS officer who helped organize the Holocaust and fled to Argentina after the war. "Able-bodied Jews will be taken in large labor columns" to the East "in the course of which action a great part will undoubtedly be eliminated by natural causes," read the conference's minutes, compiled and heavily revised by Eichmann. "Europe will be cleaned up from the West to the East."

The Landhaus Adlon hotel is closer to the city of Potsdam than it is to Wannsee. The hotel sits right on the outskirts of Potsdam, which was a consecrating city for the Nazi regime.

On March 21, 1933, Nazi leaders organized the Day of Potsdam to marry the old and new Germany in the reign of Adolf Hitler. As part of the celebrations, Hitler visited the Potsdam gravesites of Brownshirts who died terrorizing Germans into submission—as if they were national heroes. On that very day, news broke of the Nazis' establishment of the first concentration camps for anti-Nazi Germans. Two days later, the German parliament suspended the Weimar constitution.

The central event of the Potsdam Day of festivities happened at the Garnisonkirche, a Protestant church in the historic downtown of Potsdam. There's a chance some of the attendees of the festivities

lodged at the Landhaus Adlon. The hotel had been built in the 1920s only seven kilometers (or a little more than four miles) away from the Garnisonkirche.

Frederick the Great, an eighteenth-century monarch of Prussia, the forerunner to today's Germany, is buried at the Garnisonkirche. Hitler idolized this monarch whose imperial conquests in Europe profoundly expanded his kingdom. Nazi propaganda presented Hitler as Frederick's heir.

Nazis invited, almost as a stand-in for Frederick, eighty-five-year-old German President Paul von Hindenburg. This imperial military general, who led the German army during World War I, had foolishly appointed Hitler chancellor of Germany seven weeks prior.

Hitler greeted von Hindenburg in front of the church. Hitler slightly bowed and shook the president's hand "to seal the union of new and old Germany," as historian Peter Fritzsche put it.

They entered the intimacy of the church, with its excellent acoustics for speeches, military songs, and church bells. It all facilitated a splendidly clear radio broadcast to the German people. Germans listening on their radios heard Hitler chronicle that Germany's loss in World War I had happened due to "the disintegration of the German people." Chancellor Hitler turned to President Hindenburg and said, "You…by a magnanimous resolve entrusted me" with leadership. "In a unique resurgence the people have, in a few weeks, restored the national honor." Hitler asked God to "grant us that courage and endurance" during this struggle "for our people's freedom and greatness."

To make Germany great again, Hitler laid out his goals: "development of singleness of mind in the German nation, cultivation of indigenous forces and values and the nation's historical traditions, a stable and authoritative government and its primacy in organizing the nation's life."

—

A number of AfD leaders have stressed the importance of cultivating the "indigenous" forces, which they presume to be White Germans. AfD founder Alexander Gauland said Germany's national soccer team, comprised of some Black and Brown players, is no longer German "in the classical sense." The AfD has stated in talking points that opening Europe "to immigration from other continents would quickly lead to the marginalization of the native populations." The AfD differentiates between "real Germans" and "passport Germans." Björn Höcke, a party leader in the eastern German state of Thuringia, is reported to have "warned of '*Volkstod,*' the death of the Volk, through 'population replacement.'" Europe must keep Black Africans out, Höcke argued, since they reproduce more than White Europeans and would thereby soon replace them. Höcke cast the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin as "a monument of shame." He beckoned for Germany to do "a 180-degree turnaround" in how it remembered its history. Perhaps he wanted Germany to be like the United States, where the history of slavery and racism is not thoroughly taught in most schools, where books on slavery and racism have been frequently banned in recent years.

The AfD released its *Manifesto for Germany* ahead of the 2017 federal elections. "The ideology of multiculturalism…puts on a par imported cultural trends with the indigenous culture, thereby degrading the value system of the latter." On election night in 2017, Gauland conveyed that the AfD's aim is to "take back our country and our Volk!" The statement prompted *New York Times* columnist Roger Cohen to ask, "Take back Germany from whom? The immigrant rabble, I assume, and the half-breed hordes, and the Muslims who, for the AfD, serve as today's Jews."

—

Outside of Germany, Laura Huhtasaari, the Finns Party presidential candidate in 2018, aimed to preserve "white Finnish culture." The Conservative People's Party of Estonia maintains that "the Estonian people must be able to reproduce themselves and preserve Estonian culture."

When European neo-Nazi great replacement politicians talk about preserving the cultures of White people, they usually speak about preserving "Christianity" against the "invasion" of Black and Brown Muslims. In other words, Christianity works as a stand-in for the cultures of White people—erasing, simultaneously, the countless White Europeans who are agnostic or atheist, or who practice Islam, Buddhism, Judaism, or an indigenous European religion.

"We must also return to our European Christian roots," said Branko Grims, a Slovenian Democratic Party legislator. In 2022, French polemicist Éric Zemmour announced he was running for president, representing his new political party, Reconquête! (Reconquest!), "to prevent our children and our grandchildren from experiencing barbarity, to prevent our daughters from being veiled and our sons from being subdued." Marine Le Pen's niece Marion Maréchal, while an MP for the National Front, campaigned for her aunt in Sens, France, in 2017. "France is a country with Greco-Latin and Christian roots," she said. In another speech, she warned that "in 2060 the historic native people could be minorities on French territory."

Back to the AfD. Its "core ideology" denotes "an ethnically homogeneous community," journalist Sebastian Friedrich wrote. But "it no longer defines that homogeneity on the basis of genetics, being well aware that pseudo-biological concepts of race fell into disrepute with the defeat of Nazism." Hans-Thomas Tillschneider, an AfD member of the state parliament in Saxony-Anhalt, near Potsdam, maintained that the party is committed to preserving "the German people as an ethnocultural unit."

One method of great replacement theorists to preserve "ethnocultural unity" is through advancing what they term "ethnopluralism"—which means that different races should live and dominate the respective continents of the world where they are indigenous. As the leader of Belgium's Flemish Interest, Tom Van Grieken, said, "I am convinced that Christian, Flemish and, if you like, even white, should be a dominant factor in our society. Africa must be dominantly black, Europe dominantly white."

There's nothing wrong or racist to suggest a particular culture should be preserved, whether German culture or White German culture or Afro-German culture. No one should be forced to abandon the culture of their ancestors and assimilate into another. Likewise, everyone should have the freedom to step outside of their cultural box and reproduce with a person of another culture, or assimilate into another culture, or change their own culture. But great replacement theorists usually oppose *this* pluralism. They don't want to preserve all cultures, while permitting all individuals free movement through the global cultural landscape. They want to take their countries back to a time that has existed only in their imaginations.

CHAPTER 65

New Knights Templar

Twenty-first-century great replacement theorists have constructed a premodern Europe in much the same way enslavers, Ku Klux Klansmen, and German Nazis did. They have constructed in their imaginations a Europe before the 1500s that was "a pure, white, Christian place organized wholesomely around military resistance to outside, non-white, non-Christian, forces," as medieval historian David M. Perry put it. In fact, for almost all of Europe's tens of thousands of years of history prior to the sixteenth century, most residents did not identify as Christian or White, and military forces were usually organized to attack or repel other Europeans.

Great replacement theorists and soldiers adore premodern symbols, real or imagined. Take Jeremy Christian, a thirty-seven-year-old White man on a train in Portland, Oregon, in 2017. "Fuck Muslims. Go back to Saudi Arabia. Kill yourself," Christian ranted at Walio Mohamed and Destinee Mangum, two teenaged Black girls sitting nearby on the train. Mohamed wore a hijab; Mangum, a cloth headband. Christian raised his Bible, kept getting louder. Fearful, the teenagers stood up to move away from him. Three other passengers, Taliesin Namkai-Meche, Ricky Best, and Micah Fletcher, got up too and put their bodies in front of the teens. Christian

attacked and stabbed these White men, murdering Namkai-Meche and Best, severely injuring Fletcher.

Christian identified as a defender of "Vinland," the medieval Viking name for a region on the coast of North America, including what is now Newfoundland, which Vikings explored around the year 1000. Other great replacement soldiers and theorists invoke Vinland in their rhetoric. "Vinlander racists like to claim that whites are 'indigenous'" to North America "on the basis of medieval Scandinavian lore," Perry added.

Islamophobes in Europe have paraded around in medieval costumes and spray-painted Latin phrases on mosques. Great replacement soldiers have named their terror organizations after medieval ones. Anders Breivik, the Norway shooter, christened himself part of a new Knights Templar, which he described as "a pan-European indigenous rights movement." Brenton Tarrant, the New Zealand shooter, admired the Knights Templar too. On his guns, he'd imprinted eighteen references to medieval European battles and fighters, including Christian crusaders.

Christian crusaders in organizations like the Knights Templar repeatedly invaded the area around Jerusalem between 1099 and 1291. But they failed to permanently conquer it from Muslim rulers. That has not prevented great replacement politicians from presenting the Christian Crusaders as *defending Europe* from Muslim invaders, to buttress their present-day claim that Muslims are invading Europe in the twenty-first century. Just as Nazis misrepresented Jews as the invaders of Europe in the twentieth century. Just as the AfD misrepresents peoples of color as invaders of Germany on International Holocaust Remembrance Day in 2024. Just as Weidel misrepresents as slander those pointing out her party's striking connections to Nazism.

CHAPTER 66

Düsseldorf Forum

Alice Weidel tightly grips the podium.

"The federal president calls AfD voters rats and the FDP's top candidate calls AfD voters blowflies," she sputters. "You should be ashamed of yourself! You should be thoroughly ashamed of yourself!"

She points at her political opponents. AfD legislators clap. She pauses. She looks down at her prepared notes. She purses her lips.

"With your unspeakable tax-financed defamation and character assassination campaigns, you are dividing this country just to cling to your own power," Weidel says, going back on the offensive. "You talk about saving, but you burden the citizens alone with the costs." She goes on to paint German leaders as living large on tax dollars as everyday Germans struggle to get by.

—

Weidel did not attend that secret remigration meeting back in November 2023 outside of Potsdam. She likely stayed in Berlin, having spoken in the Bundestag two days earlier. Or maybe she kept tabs from her home in Willerzell, Switzerland. Wherever she was that day, she possibly knew the hotel owners who'd hosted the meeting: Wilhelm Wilderink and Mathilda Martina Huss.

Wilhelm Wilderink had been a member of the district executive committee in Potsdam of Angela Merkel's Christlich Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union, or CDU). Wilderink's views were in line with those of Simone Baum, who attended the remigration meeting. Baum helped lead a splinter group of CDU members who'd previously charged "then-Chancellor Angela Merkel with abandoning her party's conservative values by allowing over a million people… into Germany."

Meet the other host, Mathilda Martina Huss. She reportedly has a record of spreading racist and sexist ideas under the pseudonym "Augusta Presteid," with bogus credentials like behavioral geneticist or biologist on faculties of U.S. or UK universities. Once Presteid wrote about the racial heritability of intelligence. Elsewhere, Presteid said, "Men are more strongly represented in the upper IQ range than women" and "Migration is changing our gene pool." Huss denied she was Presteid. "The very term racial ideology is foreign to me," Huss said.

In addition to the hosts, Weidel possibly knew the organizers of the meeting: Hans Christian Limmer and Gernot Mörig. Limmer, a successful entrepreneur, is the son of Gisela and Ludwig Limmer, who believed immigrants threatened German culture and racial purity. Ludwig Limmer purchased a 110,000-square-foot property at auction in Borna, Saxony, in 2005. He reported to town officials that he had raised €250,000 to build "a place of remembrance" for German World War II victims. Limmer planned to build a giant iron cross in the middle of this "memorial." This Nazi memorial never came to pass.

The meeting's other organizer, Gernot Mörig, had formerly been a dentist in Düsseldorf. In the 1970s, he led the Bund Heimattreuer Jugend (League of Patriotic Youth), a group that promoted Nazi "blood and soil" ideas. Mörig determined the invite list and set the meeting's agenda as part of his "Düsseldorf Forum." These types of

forums for great replacement theorists and politicians were popping up all over the world.

CHAPTER 67

Compatibility List

Perhaps the most influential early gathering site for great replacement politicians was the Madrid Forum, launched in 2020 by Spain's Vox party, led by Santiago Abascal. Vox had been more active than any other great replacement party in mobilizing great replacement politicians, especially in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking nations. Vox's "Madrid Charter" identified the "more than 700 million people" in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking nations as part of "a community of free and sovereign nations that share a deep-rooted cultural heritage." Signers of the Madrid Charter included José Antonio Kast of Chile and Italy's Giorgia Meloni.

The Madrid Forum organized a "Europa Viva 24" rally in May 2024, in anticipation of the upcoming European Parliament elections in June. According to press accounts, nearly 11,000 people gathered at an old bullring in Madrid. "In the face of globalism we must respond with a global alliance of patriots," Abascal declared. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, France's Marine Le Pen, Portugal's André Ventura, Chile's José Antonio Kast, Italy's Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni, and Argentina's President Javier Milei all spoke live or via video.

Many of these same politicians had come to Madrid or sent in video addresses two years earlier, for Vox's "Viva 22 Rally." Trump,

Orbán, Kast, and Meloni all sent videos. "We must stand up for our traditions and our cultures and defend our children and families in the face of globalist ideologies," Orbán said. Attendees listened to the Spanish musical duo Los Meconios perform a song. "We're going back to '36," the song began. Beginning in 1936, General Francisco Franco led an armed rebellion against Spain's democratically elected government. Aided by Adolf Hitler and Italy's Benito Mussolini, Franco's forces won the Spanish Civil War in 1939. Franco ruled as dictator until his death on November 20, 1975.

—

If the Madrid Forum organized great replacement politicians, then the Düsseldorf Forum organized great replacement financiers for politicians. Many attendees of the secret remigration meeting near Potsdam received invitations requiring them to donate a "minimum" of €5,000. "We need patriots who are ready to act and individuals who will support their activities financially," the invitation stated.

There were many great replacement financiers already supporting the AfD. The AfD's "biggest known donor" was Hartmut Issmer. An extremely wealthy construction engineer, the now-retired Issmer made a fortune from the real estate boom in eastern Germany in the 1990s, after the fall of the Berlin Wall. With his walrus mustache, he'd appeared in public places throughout Germany in recent years to lecture anyone who would listen about immigrants of color destroying the country. Most of the AfD's major donors fit Issmer's profile: over age sixty-five, super-wealthy, and longing for the mythical days before immigrants of color arrived.

Another major AfD donor Weidel found closer to home. German-Swiss billionaire Henning Conle has built a property empire in Germany and, more recently, in London. Conle, who lives in Switzerland part-time, covered his tracks by sending a donation to the AfD through a Swiss pharmaceutical company ahead of the

2017 general election. This donation ran afoul of German campaign finance law, which restricts donations from individuals in non–European Union countries like Switzerland. The AfD sent back the donation after using some of it in the 2017 election.

—

Four AfD members attended the secret remigration meeting near Potsdam. Roland Hartwig, Weidel's personal aide, known as the "unofficial general secretary of AfD," attended. Hartwig wielded "significant sway on the party's highest levels of decision-making," *Correctiv* reported.

Tim Krause, AfD chair in the Potsdam district, attended. So did Gerrit Huy, an AfD member of parliament who pushed for remigration back in 2017. At the meeting as well was Ulrich Siegmund, the leader of AfD's parliamentary group from the nearby state of Saxony-Anhalt.

Attendees also included an Austrian neurosurgeon, two hotel employees, Alexander von Bismarck (a distant relative of nineteenth-century chancellor Otto von Bismarck), and "an IT businessman" known as a "die-hard Nazi." Among the rest of the attendees, the connections with the AfD were startling.

A German news website described Mario Müller as a "neo-Nazi with a criminal record who…works for an AfD member of the Bundestag." Müller reportedly spoke at the remigration meeting "on the topic of attacking leftwing activists." Attendee Arne Friedrich Mörig, the son of meeting co-organizer Gernot Mörig, managed the AfD's social media accounts.

The elder Mörig brought along Henning Pless. In 1990, Pless co-founded the Heimattreue Deutsche Jugend (Patriotic German Youth), a splinter group of the aforementioned League of Patriotic Youth. The group's other founder: Mörig's brother-in-law, Thomas Grebien, an AfD politician in the eastern German district of Plön.

The AfD placed the Patriotic German Youth on its "incompatibility list," refusing party membership to anyone with connections to the group, a crucial element of the AfD's orchestrated distancing.

When Ulrich Vosgerau walked into the meeting, some people recognized him as the lawyer who represented the AfD in court. Vosgerau spoke at the meeting "about postal votes, legal processes, the secrecy of the ballot, and his concerns about voters of Turkish origin who, he claims, are unable to form an independent opinion," *Correctiv* reported. He suggested drafting a letter that cast doubt on Germany's upcoming elections in 2024. A proposal that was met with applause.

Another meeting attendee, Silke Schröder, interviewed Weidel in July 2023 on her talk show *Politicum* on TV Berlin. Schröder worked as a weekly columnist for the *Deutschland-Kurier,* a publication that has provided campaign assistance to the AfD. Eight days before the Potsdam meeting, Schröder previewed the subject of discussion. Her column was titled "Remigration or Islamization—Europe at the Crossroads!"

When *Correctiv* broke the story about the AfD members and affiliates at this meeting, the news storm blew the drywall off their great replacement theory, blew away all the renovated rhetoric that hid the theory's foundation of Nazism. The public could now clearly see that the AfD lives in neo-Nazism.

Not if Weidel can deflect it. She keeps pounding away at German leaders in her speech before parliament.

CHAPTER 68

Purebred

"**You continue to** flood the country with illegal immigrants," Alice Weidel charges the ruling party in her parliamentary speech on January 31, 2024. "Anyone can come, no one has to go. You are turning new voters into citizens at a rapid rate…. Your deportation acceleration law is a deportation prevention law."

She occasionally grips the sides of the podium. Despite the fury of her words, she delivers them in subdued fashion. MPs listen to her, solemnity all over their faces. Other MPs are tuning her out for their phones.

"With this policy, you are driving the municipalities to despair, destroying the social systems, exacerbating the housing shortage, and undermining internal security. But above all, you are depriving Germans of their homeland.

"More than 1,000 women are victims of sexual violence by immigrants every year, 7,000 since the welcoming initiative of the CDU chancellor in 2015," she claims without evidence. "But you remain silent about this, as does the media."

Weidel largely remains silent about her party's role in inciting political violence.

—

Four years earlier, sometime before February 19, 2020, Tobias Rathjen posted a twenty-four-page stream-of-consciousness manifesto to his website. He referenced conspiracy theories circulated by QAnon, took credit for some of Trump's slogans, claimed he prophesized the rise of a billionaire to lead the United States, and demanded that North Africans, Middle Easterners, Central Asians, South Asians, and Southeast Asians be "completely destroyed."

"Not everyone who has a German passport today is purebred and valuable," Rathjen wrote. "I can imagine a halving of the population." Rathjen considered non-White "races and cultures" to be inherently "destructive." On this list of destructive people, Rathjen inscribed antiracist White Germans who do not fear immigrants of color.

This forty-three-year-old White man, who lived with his mother, titled one section of his meandering manifesto "Topic: Women." Rathjen shared that he had never had a romantic relationship with a woman. Because "I had particularly high standards." He "wanted the best or nothing at all." He worried about being with a woman when he knew he was being closely surveilled by a "secret service" of "invisible and unknown people." Rathjen was a paranoid incel, short for "involuntarily celibate."

For his war, Rathjen selected hookah bars in parts of Hanau, Germany, with large immigrant populations. Hanau is about twelve miles east of Frankfurt. Around 10 P.M. on February 19, 2020, Rathjen opened fire at La Votre café and bar, killing an employee behind the counter. He left La Votre and shot to death a man on the sidewalk. He fired into the neighboring Midnight Bar, killing the owner. Rathjen then ran off and shot at the car of a Roma man named Vili Viorel Păun. Rathjen fled. Păun gave chase in his car and tried to contact the police. Păun parked his car four miles away. Rathjen found Păun and murdered him as he sat in his car.

Rathjen entered a nearby kiosk. He shot three more people to death. He entered a neighboring bar, killed two more people. Not finished, Rathjen returned to his apartment. He murdered his seventy-two-year-old White mother and turned the gun on himself.

Excluding himself and his mother, Rathjen murdered nine people and wounded six more. Four of them were German citizens, two of Kurdish ancestry, one of Sinti ancestry, one of Afghan ancestry. He shot to death two Turkish immigrants, a Bosnian immigrant, a Bulgarian immigrant, and a Romanian immigrant. All of those dead were between twenty-one and thirty-seven years old.

Rathjen's terror attack in Hanau ended up being the third major attack by a great replacement soldier in Germany in nine months. In June 2019, Stephan Ernst shot dead politician Walter Lübcke. Nazis and neo-Nazis had seethed when Lübcke, a top public official in Kassel, defended the government's opening of Germany to Syrian refugees in 2015. On October 9, 2019, a heavily armed twenty-seven-year-old named Stephan Balliet livestreamed a failed attempt to break down the front door to a synagogue in Halle. Inside, fifty-one Jewish Germans were observing Yom Kippur. Balliet turned his gun on people passing by, killing a White non-Jewish woman. He hopped in his car and drove to a nearby kebab shop, where he fatally shot a man. Balliet wounded two more people before police arrested him. During a court appearance, he apologized for killing the White woman passerby, because he "didn't want to kill whites." His manifesto presaged his plans to "kill as many anti-Whites as possible, Jews preferred." He had been inspired by Brenton Tarrant, the Christchurch shooter in New Zealand.

Shortly after Balliet's shooting, Weidel expressed her "thoughts are with the victims and their families." Days later, after Balliet's arrest and identification as the shooter, Weidel labeled him "a lone perpetrator who used his hatred of Jews and immigrants as an outlet for his own failure in life." But with each terror attack, more and more Germans blamed the AfD. A week after the terror attack

in Hanau, a poll revealed that 60 percent of respondents believed "the AfD is partly responsible" for these kinds of attacks.

Feeling this shift in public opinion, Weidel went on the offensive, just as she would do after the *Correctiv* story. She blasted the "excessive campaign [that] has been running through our country that is unparalleled in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany." She charged that "the same voices that are otherwise always ready to spontaneously declare a terrorist who murders in the name of an Islamist ideology to be a mentally disturbed lone perpetrator…classify an actual psychopath without hesitation and without allowing the slightest doubt as a 'right-wing extremist terrorist.'"

Another person who orchestrated distance from Tobias Rathjen and his terror attack in Hanau: the keynote speaker of the secret remigration meeting.

CHAPTER 69

Identitarian

The main draw for the AfD attendees at that hotel outside Potsdam was Martin Sellner, the keynote speaker. Based in Austria, Sellner is a rising star in German-speaking neo-Nazi circles. Sellner identified Tobias Rathjen as a mentally ill person who "did not engage in political activism, did not seek to connect with political actors, and was completely caught up in a delusional world."

Sellner had interacted with Brenton Tarrant, the great replacement soldier who mass-murdered Muslims in Christchurch, New Zealand. In 2018, around the time Tarrant toured Europe, he'd donated €1,500 to Sellner. The two men exchanged emails. Tarrant lauded Sellner, who encouraged Tarrant to check out his English-language YouTube videos. One English-language video Sellner posted on YouTube that year reflected the title of Tarrant's manifesto, "The Great Replacement." After Tarrant's ties to Sellner were uncovered, the UK and the U.S. denied entry to Sellner. The Austrian government investigated Sellner, raided his apartment, seized his electronic devices, and threatened to ban his remigration movement. "If you take people's right to debate away and push them underground, there is a risk of radicalization," he told *The New York Times.* "Then people might say, 'Tarrant is right.' "

Sellner's closest comrade happened to be his wife, Brittany, a "Catholic American nationalist." Hailing from California, her first political tweet came on October 11, 2016—on rapper Kanye West's support for Trump's campaign. *Mother Jones* described Brittany Sellner as "an alt-right writer who pushes the conspiracy theory of 'white genocide.'" She authored a 2021 book titled *Patriots Not Welcome,* and she has posted YouTube videos on topics like "The War on Men."

Great replacement theory has concocted nothing but wars. A war on White people. A war on Christians. A war on heterosexuals. A war on men. Wars on the family, on parents, on history, on the West, on Christmas. "These various 'wars' are often folded into one another," explained political theorist Michael Feola in his study of great replacement theory. "Each of these formulations reflects a single essential grievance: those who represent the proper core of the nation are currently under an unjust attack that seeks to strip them of the status and good that are rightfully theirs." Transphobic great replacement theorists, too, have imagined a war on women. "In a world of chosen gender identities, women as a biological category don't exist," wrote *New York Times* columnist Pamela Paul on July 3, 2022. "Some might even call this kind of thing erasure."

—

Martin Sellner has authored several books. The one that ushered him to keynote that secret meeting in 2023 was *Remigration,* set to be published early the next year. In the controversy over the meeting, *Remigration* climbed to number one on Amazon's bestseller list for German-language books. The book proposed the removal from Germany of 7.5 million asylum seekers and foreigners, as well as "unassimilated" German citizens. Sellner suggested opening "homecoming centers"—otherwise known as concentration camps—around Germany to facilitate this remigration. He estimated

it would take eighty-six Boeing flights to rid Germany of the majority of people of Afghan descent. By 2040, only 2,500 "non-assimilated Afghans" would be left. Sellner aimed to remigrate *anyone* refusing to subordinate themselves to White German culture. Or they would have to take five-year "assimilation courses" ending with an "assimilation contract." Sellner's assimilation plans mirrored China's "reeducation camps," which had confined and ethnically cleansed the Muslim culture of more than one million Uyghurs by 2022.

Sellner had been one of the leaders of the growing "Identitarian" movement in Europe, which largely emerged out of the so-called New Right. In France, starting in the late 1960s, New Right intellectuals "attempted to repackage racist thought in a way which would not alarm Europeans with fresh memories of interwar fascism," explained journalist Jason Wilson of *The Guardian.* The pioneering figure of the European New Right was Alain de Benoist. He founded the think tank GRECE in 1968 (incidentally, the year of Marine Le Pen's birth). GRECE was short for Groupement de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne, or Research and Study Group for European Civilization. GRECE, or Grèce, is also French for Greece, which de Benoist and great replacement theorists identify as the birthplace of Western civilization.

De Benoist and the French New Right envisioned a segregated world where peoples were separated and unequal. "What I here call the 'right,' purely by convention, is the attitude that considers the diversity of the world and, as a consequence, the related inequalities necessarily produced by it, to be a good," de Benoist once stated, "and the gradual homogenization of the world, advocated and realized by the two-thousand-year-old discourse of egalitarian ideology, to be an evil." He acknowledged segregationist ideas of unequal heterogeneity and assimilationist ideas of equal homogeneity. He completely ignored antiracist ideas of equal heterogeneity, which considered the diversity of the world to be a

good and the inequalities necessarily produced by racism to be an evil.

A largely separate but allied New Right movement developed in the United States, Australia, Great Britain, and New Zealand. Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater first used the term "New Right" in English during his 1964 campaign. One month after Goldwater's huge election loss, one of the main organizational vehicles of this "New Right" emerged.

CHAPTER 70

CPAC

The American "New Right" became organized through the American Conservative Union (ACU). The ACU is best known today as the organizer of the annual Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC). At CPAC in February 2011, it was upon the invitation of GOProud, a group of gay Republicans, that Donald Trump gave his first speech as a potential GOP candidate. Ted Cruz, who had announced his first Senate campaign a few weeks earlier, donned black cowboy boots as he introduced CPAC director Lisa De Pasquale, who in turn introduced Trump. The nearly-all-White crowd exploded in glee as Trump walked onto the stage to *The Apprentice* theme song, the O'Jays classic "For the Love of Money."

"You're hired!" a woman yelled from the crowd.

"You're hired," Trump replied. "These are my people."

Trump planted the seeds of the birther theory that he would fully articulate on national television six weeks later.

"Our current president came out of nowhere," Trump said of Obama. "In fact, I'll go a step further. The people that went to school with him, they never saw him. They don't know who he is."

On February 23, 2017, one month after Trump's first presidential inauguration, CPAC organizers barred great replacement theorist Richard Spencer from attending. His views "have absolutely nothing to do with conservatism or what we do here," they said.

By 2019, things had changed. Not only were great replacement theorists and politicians welcome at CPAC, they were speaking from mainstages at new CPACs in Brazil, South Korea, and Australia.

At CPAC Hungary in 2022, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán welcomed to Budapest Austria's Freedom Party chair Herbert Kickl, Spain's Vox president Santiago Abascal, and ACU chairman Matt Schlapp. Tucker Carlson and Nigel Farage gave virtual addresses. Maybe some of the attendees arrived in Budapest early enough to witness Orbán officially inaugurate a new session of the Hungarian parliament a few days before CPAC Hungary. Maybe these visitors saw Orbán lambast the "suicidality" of Western values in Western countries. "One such suicide attempt that I see is the great European population replacement program, which seeks to replace the missing European Christian children with migrants, with adults arriving from other civilizations," Orbán said.

That year, Orbán barred international journalists from covering CPAC Hungary. He did the same at CPAC Hungary in Budapest in 2023, where a CPAC-branded arch outside the entrance to the conference building declared it a "No Woke Zone." Journalists were allowed to cover CPAC Australia in Sydney in 2023. But they were ordered to wear bright-red media passes that announced: "FAKE NEWS."

CPACs around the world led up to CPAC's flagship U.S. conference in February 2024. Trump headlined the conference as the likely Republican candidate for U.S. president. CPAC held the conference in National Harbor, Maryland. Ben Goggin, an NBC News reporter, attended and recognized, "Nazis, antisemitism, the great replacement theory…have become so common among conservatives that I think attendees, even journalists, didn't think too deeply about them being at CPAC."

"How CPAC has changed," UK's Nigel Farage marveled on day two. "When I first came here a decade ago, I was the only foreign-born speaker on the platform…. And look at it today. Quite

extraordinary. I've met delegates here, elected officials from Hungary, from Poland, from Romania, Australia, Canada, Colombia, Mexico…France and Germany." Delegates from those countries heard an American great replacement theorist named Jack Posobiec who declared, "Welcome to the end of democracy—we're here to overthrow it completely. We didn't get all the way there on January sixth but we will endeavor to get rid of it and replace it with this right here." Posobiec held up a Christian cross hanging on his necklace.

—

Only one annual event has rivaled CPAC in mobilizing great replacement operatives: the National Conservative Conference. These "NatCons" have been organized by the Edmund Burke Foundation, chaired by Yoram Hazony, an Israeli American philosopher. In 2018 Hazony authored *The Virtue of Nationalism,* in which he argued that notions of equality became too extreme after the civil rights movement. For Hazony, it went too far in the belief that "everyone should be equal to everybody: Blacks should be equal to whites, men should be equal to women, foreigners should be equal to American citizens…married people to unmarried people, heterosexual people to people who are homosexual, it goes on and on," he wrote.

NatCons appeared in Rome, Orlando, Miami, Brussels, London, and Washington, D.C. Speakers have included Orbán, the UK's Farage and Suella Braverman, Mateusz Morawiecki of Poland's Law and Justice party, and Éric Zemmour of France. American speakers have included Stephen Miller, Vivek Ramaswamy, JD Vance, Ron DeSantis, Christopher Rufo, Ted Cruz, and Black economist Glenn Loury. NatCon held its first large gathering over three days in July 2019 at the Ritz-Carlton in Washington, D.C. Among the guests were Tucker Carlson and billionaire Peter Thiel, who financed the

U.S. Senate run of JD. Vance. "We are a unique nation with a unique history," Missouri Senator Josh Hawley said at that first NatCon. "That history began more than two thousand years ago, when the proud traditions of the self-governing city-states met the radical claims of a Jewish rabbi."

Great replacement theorists outside of Europe have *not* advocated for the "remigration" of White people out of nations their ancestors immigrated to a decade or a century ago. Great replacement theorists have positioned White people outside of Europe, too, as indigenous, and/or rejected claims of indigeneity by peoples of color and Muslims.

CHAPTER 71

Go Back

Israeli officials objected when, in 2018, Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas informed the UN Security Council that his people had lived in Palestine "5,000 years ago." Naftali Bennett, Israel's education minister, who became the country's thirteenth prime minister in 2021, responded, "A nation inventing its past has no future." Bezalel Smotrich, the leader of the Religious Zionism party and Israeli finance minister, argued later, "Is there a Palestinian history or culture? Nothing. There is no such thing as a Palestinian people."

José Antonio Kast identified as a defender of Chile's *European* heritage. Winston Peters, the leader of New Zealand First since founding the party in 1993, said the Māori people are "not indigenous" to his country. Peters's father was Māori. "We didn't come 54,000 years ago, for example, like the Aboriginals in Australia," Peters said of his Māori ancestors, who arrived in New Zealand close to a thousand years ago. In the United States, former Republican Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania once said, "We birthed a nation from nothing. I mean, there was nothing here. I mean, yes, we have Native Americans, but candidly there isn't much Native American culture in American culture."

On September 30, 2024, candidates for the Idaho state legislature assembled before voters in the town of Kendrick. A voter

questioned the existence of racist discrimination. "Just because someone hasn't personally experienced discrimination doesn't mean it's not happening," responded Trish Carter-Goodheart, a candidate for a seat in the Idaho House of Representatives. "Racism and discrimination are real issues here in Idaho, as anyone familiar with our state's history knows."

Long before White colonizers settled what is now Idaho, Carter-Goodheart's Nez Perce ancestors lived there. But Dan Foreman, a Republican state senator, conjured a different history. At seventy-one years old, he was retired from the U.S. Air Force and an Idaho police force. Back in 2017, weeks after first taking office, Foreman had introduced a bill that would charge pregnant women and doctors who aborted fetuses with first-degree murder.

"I'm so sick and tired of this liberal bullshit," Foreman snapped at Carter-Goodheart, a Native woman. "Why don't you go back to where you came from?"

Days later, amid an outcry, Foreman doubled down. "I enlightened this person to the fact I was born in America, and I am therefore a native American," he posted on Facebook. Foreman called what Carter-Goodheart said "a quintessential display of race-baiting." He presented "a news flash for the lefties out there. There is no systemic racism in America or Idaho." And, since he had the attention of women, he lectured at them: "You do not have any right to murder the unborn. There is no such thing as your self-proclaimed 'Women's Reproductive Rights.' "

Foreman won reelection. Carter-Goodheart lost her race.

—

And then there are those arguing that White Afrikaners are indigenous to South Africa. People like Martin Bosma, Geert Wilders's right-hand man in the Netherlands. In 2015, Bosma published *Minderheid in eigen land* (*Minority in One's Own Land*). In

the 1600s, Dutch colonizers began arriving, settling, dispossessing, enslaving, and murdering the Khoisan people of South Africa, who had resided in the region for thousands of years. These Dutch settler colonizers, who became known as Afrikaners, fashioned South African apartheid. To Bosma, not only are White Afrikaners indigenous, but in his inversion of antiracism, he framed the anti-apartheid movement as subjecting Afrikaners to "cultural genocide" and "Apartheid 2.0." Bosma wrote this book to warn his fellow White Dutch people that supposedly the same genocide could happen in the Netherlands.

Weidel spends her January 2024 speech warning what could happen in Germany.

CHAPTER 72

Madagascar

"**Time and again,** I have stated what needs to be done to get this country back on its feet," Alice Weidel continues before parliament. If any Holocaust survivors are still there, perhaps they look away, too pained by the renovation of Nazism before their eyes.

"Again, closing and controlling the borders, rejecting illegal immigrants, repatriating rejected and criminal asylum seekers and those who have no right to stay," Weidel says. "That is the enforcement of law and order after years of rule by lawlessness." MPs from the Af D yet again applaud their leader in all her defiance.

Weidel cannot help herself. She has advocated what was planned at the secret meeting she is trying to distance her party from.

—

At that meeting, once guests arrived at the luxe hotel near Potsdam, they walked "across the parquet floor towards a white table set with around thirty plates, each with a folded napkin," *Correctiv* reported. Gernot Mörig, the co-organizer, introduced Martin Sellner. Mörig had encouraged the focus of their discussion to be Sellner's "master plan" of "remigration" as an idea everyone

could agree with. The success of remigration will answer the question of "whether or not we in the West will survive," Mörig said.

In his speech, Sellner listed the groups that should be forcibly removed from Germany, dividing "German residents into those who would be able to live peacefully in Germany and those for whom this basic human right would no longer apply," *Correctiv* reported. Sellner suggested remigrating millions of people to a "model state" in North Africa. Any antiracist person in Germany who advocated on behalf of the remigrated could be removed too, Sellner argued. "Sellner's concept is eerily reminiscent of the Nazis' 1940 plan to deport four million Jews to the island of Madagascar," *Correctiv* reported.

In May 1940, SS head and Holocaust architect Heinrich Himmler pitched to Hitler "Some Thoughts on the Treatment of Alien Populations in the East." Within four or five years, "I hope to see the term 'Jew' completely eliminated through the possibility of a large-scale emigration of all Jews to Africa or to some colony," Himmler wrote to Hitler.

France had colonized Madagascar, off the southeast coast of Africa, in the late nineteenth century. Ever since then, antisemitic Europeans had bandied about the world's fourth-largest island as a destination to which to send European Jews. In the summer of 1940, the head of the Jewish Affairs desk in Nazi Germany's Foreign Office, Franz Rademacher, developed what became known as the Madagascar Plan. "The imminent victory [against France] gives Germany the possibility, and in my opinion also the duty, of solving the Jewish question in Europe," Rademacher wrote. "The desirable solution is: All Jews out of Europe." Rademacher proposed in the peace treaty with France that Germany receive Madagascar "for the solution of the Jewish question." Hitler approved the plan.

However, its execution would have required victory over Great Britain's navy, which was enforcing a blockade around Europe and Africa during the war. That victory never happened. So the

remigration of European Jews to Madagascar never happened, in favor of Germany's even more sinister "Final Solution." But in recent years, East Africa has again emerged as a favored destination for remigrations and remigration proposals. Multiple Conservative Party administrations in the UK tried to remigrate asylum seekers to Rwanda. Trump's second administration in 2025 remigrated immigrants of color to South Sudan, Rwanda, Eswatini, and Ghana. In 2025, Israel also proposed remigrating Palestinians in Gaza to South Sudan.

—

Trump successfully ran on remigration during the 2024 presidential campaign. "On day one, I will launch the largest deportation program in American history to get the criminals out," Trump said at a rally in Madison Square Garden in New York City on October 27, 2024. "I will rescue every city and town that has been invaded and conquered."

Before Trump launched his mass remigration program in 2025, border-state governors had remigrated immigrants of color from one state to another. Texas Governor Greg Abbott transported more than 102,000 immigrants between 2022 and 2024 to states north and west, costing Texas taxpayers more than $148 million. Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, inspired by Abbott, allocated $12 million in June 2022 to send immigrants from Florida to northern states like Massachusetts. Around that time, Republican Arizona Governor Doug Ducey bused more than 3,000 immigrants from Yuma, Arizona, to Washington, D.C., costing Arizona taxpayers more than $7 million. Democrat Katie Hobbs, who won the governorship in 2023, expanded the program that year.

In Austria, after the Freedom Party (FPÖ) won the June 2024 European Parliament elections, party leaders proposed a "remigration commissioner." Gernot Schmidt, an Identitarian who

participated in memorial celebrations at the gravesite of a Nazi air force officer, organized a remigration rally in Vienna in July 2023. Hundreds of demonstrators participated, including several FPÖ officials. "Remigration is the solution to the Great Replacement," Schmidt told reporters. One of the speakers at the event: none other than Martin Sellner.

In 2021, Geert Wilders in the Netherlands proposed the creation of a "Ministry of Immigration, Remigration, and De-Islamization." In France, Éric Zemmour, of the Reconquest party, vowed during the 2022 presidential campaign to build a "Ministry of Remigration" if elected. Nicolas Crochet, Marine Le Pen's former accountant and a close comrade, shared with an undercover reporter in 2018 that National Rally would introduce a remigration program when it came to power.

Zemmour and Le Pen have found support for their remigration proposals—and their parties—in an unlikely place: the French island of Mayotte, an overseas territory off the coast of Mozambique and due north of the destination of the Nazi remigration program, Madagascar. Nearly a third of Mayotte's residents were undocumented immigrants when a deadly cyclone ripped away slum housing on December 14, 2024. The leader of the Collective of Citizens of Mayotte, Safina Soula, welcomed the storm's destruction, calling it "divine Wuambushu"—the name French authorities had given to its yearlong operation to destroy these slums and remigrate immigrants.

Mayotte was the most impoverished region of France when the cyclone hit. Almost 80 percent of its 320,000 residents lived in poverty. Many of the natives accused undocumented immigrants of stealing their resources and breaking their laws (while those immigrants reported police harassment and their kids being denied entry into schools). Most of the immigrants came from Comoros, an archipelagic country forty-three miles away that voted to separate from France in 1974. In all its poverty, Mayotte has been better off

than Comoros. And French officials don't let the people of Mayotte forget it. "You are happy to be in France, because if it wasn't France, let me tell you, you'd be 10,000 times" worse off, said President Emmanuel Macron in a visit to Mayotte after the cyclone. France's Interior Minister Bruno Retailleau, of the party Les Républicains (The Republicans), accused Comoros's government of "pushing populations toward Mayotte to create a kind of illegal occupation."

Great replacement theory knows no borders. Its professed solution, remigration, is older than the borders of today's nation-states.

—

The geopolitical history of the modern world has largely been shaped by remigrations—that is, ethnic cleansing projects—that make way for White European settler colonizers. From 1493, Spanish settlers justified their colonization of the Americas through a doctrine that stipulated they could claim ownership of whatever lands they "discovered." This "Doctrine of Discovery" underlies the global march of racial capitalism as its private property laws flouted the notion that Indigenous peoples had a human right to the lands of their ancestors. By the 1840s, American theorists considered the removal of Indigenous peoples by White Americans to be "the fulfilment of our manifest destiny." At the same time, the American Colonization Society pushed for the remigration of freed Black people back to Africa, a goal supported by several presidents, from Jefferson to Lincoln.

After the abolition of slavery in the Americas, eugenicists advocated for politicians to Whiten multiracial nations. Before the Nazis and their collaborators, perhaps no group of politicians executed eugenics programs more aggressively than racist legislators in Latin America after the abolition of slavery. Around the

turn of the twentieth century, they executed state-sanctioned voluntary migration campaigns aimed at the *blanqueamiento,* or "whitening," of their nations, as legal scholar Tanya Katerí Hernández has documented. Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Peru recruited White immigrants and prevented the immigration of Black, Asian, and Indigenous peoples. Colombia, Brazil, Venezuela, and Peru gave travel funds to White immigrants to settle in their countries, and several countries also provided tax breaks. Brazilian legislators passed a statute that provided huge land grants to White European immigrants. Meanwhile, they deprived Indigenous peoples and residents of remote settlements called quilombos, largely descended from Black runaways, of legal titles to the land they had lived on for generations, if not centuries.

In 1880, Uruguay had a population of 520,000 people. Between 1880 and 1930, Uruguay recruited 580,000 White European immigrants. In Brazil, "4,793,981 immigrants arrived from 1851 to 1937 as compared to 3.6 million" enslaved Africans brought against their will to Brazil during the three centuries of the Atlantic human trade, Hernández tabulated.

In the early twenty-first century, great replacement politicians have concocted an easily disprovable conspiracy that "globalists" or "elites" or "Jews" or the "EU" or "leftists" or "liberals" are carrying out a deliberate plan to replace their White populations—to darken or Islamize their populations. But these "elites" purported to be behind the great replacement have *not* passed laws that ban White immigration, that cover the travel only of immigrants of color, that naturalize only peoples of color as citizens, that give only immigrants of color tax breaks, land allotments, and other economic privileges. If anything, these centrist and liberal "replacists," as Camus termed them, have sometimes *supported* laws that harden "border security," that privilege White immigrants, that limit immigrants of color, that criminalize and incarcerate undocumented

immigrants, that remigrate immigrants of color, that keep immigrants of color waiting for decades to become citizens. Great replacement theorists have concocted a crisis that does not exist to demand the remigration of peoples of color.

CHAPTER 73

Not a Secret

After Martin Sellner shared his master plan for remigration, no one objected. All the questions evoked support. The conversation turned to the practicality and feasibility of implementing it. Gernot Mörig suggested putting together a committee to figure out the logistical and legal details, "so that the racially motivated forced displacement of people has the guise of a legal migration policy," as *Correctiv* reported.

Bottom line: the racist plan needed to be sold to White Germans who identify as "not racist." The group discussed how to manipulate White Germans. Ultimately, the attendees reasoned that, to get their remigration plan implemented, they did not just need to shape public opinion. They needed "to weaken Germany's democracy by questioning elections, discrediting the constitutional court, suppressing opposing views and censoring public service broadcasting," *Correctiv* reported.

—

After news of the secret meeting broke, Weidel dismissed it as a "completely irrelevant event." She stated that the meeting did not have official AfD backing. She maintained she had no prior knowledge of the attendance of Roland Hartwig, her closest aide.

Hartwig's presence prompted Weidel to make a public show of orchestrating distancing from him. But he continued to work for the AfD behind the scenes.

Weidel claimed the AfD did not support remigration. And yet, in 2017, AfD's political program, with Weidel as the co-candidate, read: "All refused asylum seekers not legally entitled to protection will have to be forced to leave Germany immediately, if they do not do so voluntarily." The AfD's party program for the 2019 European Parliament elections demanded: "Remigration instead of mass immigration." By the time we reached 2024, Hans-Christoph Berndt, AfD's top candidate in the Brandenburg state elections held that September, said, "Remigration is not a secret—but a promise." Berndt contended remigration must be executed since the German government "is not putting the interests of the indigenous population first."

—

Weidel remains fired up through most of her speech on January 31. Her critical objective in those weeks after the *Correctiv* story publishes is to ensure that the headlines and demonstrations generated by news of the remigration meeting do not reduce AfD support in the polls as the nation's second-most-popular party. She ends her speech in defiance.

"You are not good at governing Germany and you don't want to," she declares. She forcefully points at her political opponents. "You are ruining it. And I'll tell you why. Because you hate your own country, because you hate Germany. This government hates Germany." By contrast, Weidel projects the AfD as patriots, as defenders of Germany's freedom—the next link in the chain of ideas.

LINK 7

Fight for freedom as patriots, like the nation's founders.

//

Pierre Poilievre

Canada

CHAPTER 74

Free to Die

In her truck, Brigitte Belton approached the U.S.-Canada border from the Michigan side on November 16, 2021. She had crossed the border many times hauling goods. She was probably heading home to Wallaceburg, Ontario, not even an hour and a half away.

But Canada Border Services agents denied Belton entry at the Detroit-Windsor tunnel that day, because she was not wearing a mask.

Belton vented her fury in a TikTok video. She connected on TikTok with Chris Barber, a truck driver from Saskatchewan. Barber has multiple TikTok accounts hanging online and multiple Confederate flags hanging in his home. Belton and Barber likely discussed the vaccine mandates set to come into effect on January 15, 2022, after which all truckers crossing the border from either the United States or Canada were required to be vaccinated.

These vaccine mandates were instituted during the period of the COVID-19 pandemic when there were the most infections to that point. The pandemic ultimately took the lives of more than seven million people worldwide over its first four years. The four countries with the largest absolute numbers of reported deaths—the United States, Brazil, India, and Russia—all had great replacement politicians presiding at the beginning of the pandemic who presented themselves as protectors of the people.

The outbreak first began in Wuhan, China, in late 2019. The pace of international organizing from great replacement politicians at conferences like CPAC and NatCon that year proved slow compared to how quickly the highly contagious coronavirus spread out of China and around the world. By March 11, 2020, the virus had infected hundreds of thousands of people in 114 countries and had killed more than 4,000 people. The World Health Organization solemnly declared COVID-19 a pandemic.

Government officials attempted to stop the spreading pandemic by restricting travel, prohibiting large gatherings of people, and encouraging "social distancing." Government officials closed schools and churches and the doors of all but essential businesses, factories, and offices. Businesses failed en masse. Global financial markets tanked. Unemployment rates soared higher than during the Great Recession.

Most great replacement politicians did not follow U.S. President Donald Trump and Brazil President Jair Bolsonaro, who minimized the threat and undermined lockdown measures, especially if those politicians were heads of state or members of ruling coalitions. After all, the public would hold them responsible for the surge of infections, hospitalizations, disabilities, and deaths. In Hungary, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán initially supported mask mandates, shutdowns, and curfews to stop the virus's spread. But best believe Orbán used this public health crisis to shore up his electoral dictatorship.

In March 2020, Orbán's lawmakers pushed through a bill that suspended elections and allowed Orbán to rule by emergency decree, purportedly to manage the pandemic. Using this maneuver dubbed the "coronavirus coup," the electoral dictator temporarily transformed into a conventional dictator. He further neutered Hungarian opposition to his rule. The bill allowed him to reappropriate public funds for opposing political parties to stimulus funding. The bill stipulated that if any citizen "states or

disseminates any untrue fact or any misrepresented true fact" that his administration viewed as "hindering or preventing" the response to the pandemic, they could be imprisoned. Journalist Zack Beauchamp discerned that this provision was tailored "to force self-censorship—to make reporters and their sources so afraid of being jailed that they won't report too critically on the government's slow, inefficient response to the pandemic, or the problems created by its chronically underfunded health care system." The Hungarian parliament did not revoke these emergency powers until June 2020.

As the pandemic raged on, more and more great replacement politicians joined Trump and Bolsonaro in spreading misinformation while opposing mitigation strategies, usually pointing to costs to the economy and "freedom." Take Marine Le Pen. At the beginning of the pandemic, she supported lockdowns, mandatory mask wearing, and social distancing. By the end of 2020, Le Pen opposed compulsory vaccination with a vengeance. "Our fellow citizens are free citizens, and it is up to them to decide whether or not they wish to be vaccinated," she tweeted on November 15, 2020. When a lawmaker proposed mandating a vaccine passport, or proof of vaccination status to travel and access public accommodations, Le Pen billed the law as "essentially totalitarian." In December 2021, she blasted "Emmanuel Macron and the government" for "restricting freedoms."

Following Trump's lead, several great replacement politicians racialized the viral threat, naming it, as Trump did, the "Chinese virus." After Vox's general secretary Javier Ortega Smith contracted COVID-19, he urged his followers not to worry because "my 'Spanish antibodies' fight against the damn Chinese viruses." Sometimes great replacement leaders in Europe did not want the European Union to join the fight against the virus—their Euroscepticism endured even in a deadly crisis. One study of Hungary, Czechia, Poland, and Slovakia found that five main narratives emerged during the first wave of the pandemic in 2020: the ineffectiveness of

EU or Western democracies, the "global control narrative," an "anti-vaccine narrative," an "anti-migrant narrative," and a narrative skeptical of the danger of COVID-19. The narratives evoking ineffective EU or Western democracy, "global control," and anti-migrant sentiment all reinforced the thesis of great replacement theory.

Most great replacement parties used the pandemic to demand stricter border controls, either by closing the borders or by abolishing political asylum. Some falsely linked the spread of the virus to immigrants. "New landing of illegal immigrants in Italy, with 5 positive for Covid," Italy's Giorgia Meloni tweeted on March 23, 2021. "While the government continues to close businesses and place new restrictions on citizens, ports remain wide open to uncontrolled and illegal immigration."

Some wealthy governments provided relief to their citizens as scientists raced to develop a vaccine. On December 14, 2020, the first American received a COVID-19 vaccine. By the early months of 2021, the vaccine became available free of charge to people in the United States and Canada. By the end of that year, Canada had one of the highest vaccination rates in the world. Almost 90 percent of Canadian truck drivers were vaccinated.

Not the trucker barred from crossing into Canada, Brigitte Belton.

CHAPTER 75

Patriots

Brigitte Belton's friend Chris Barber was vaccinated. But he considered vaccine mandates to be "tyranny at its finest."

Barber found people online who shared his views—and there was no shortage of them, as researcher Ciarán O'Connor found in a study monitoring a sample of 239 Telegram channels. Between January 2020 and June 2021, users in 167 of those channels—133 of which were categorized as "white supremacist channels"—engaged in active discussions of the COVID-19 pandemic. These channels "downplayed the severity of COVID-19, spread spurious conspiracies about lockdown or restrictions and disseminated baseless claims suggesting vaccines are deadly," O'Connor explained in his report. He told the Associated Press, "COVID-19 has served as a catalyst for radicalization."

Barber connected with Pat King, a great replacement theorist active on Facebook. King had made a name for himself in his hometown of Red Deer, Alberta, for counterprotesting antiracist demonstrators in 2020. King actually recorded a comrade tackling and slapping a demonstrator. "That's patriots kicking antifa out of their towns!" King shouted off-camera. King had previously campaigned for "Wexit," the proposed secession of Alberta and other western provinces from Canada. He believed that so-called

"globalists" were allowing "irregular border crossers," including "ISIS terrorists," to depopulate the "true-blooded Canadians."

Barber and King then connected with Tamara Lich, who lived in Alberta and had helped King on the Wexit campaign. King and Lich had both previously participated in the "United We Roll" convoy of February 2019, in which approximately two hundred trucks rolled thirty-six hours from Red Deer, Alberta, just north of Calgary, to Parliament Hill in the Canadian capital of Ottawa. These truckers protested against carbon taxes and stiffer environmental regulations on energy projects. The convoy lasted a few days. It ended up being a dry run for what Lich, King, and Barber started planning in early 2022.

The trio got to work organizing trucker convoys from Western Canada to drive more than fifty hours across the entire nation to Ottawa. On January 22, 2022, the first trucker convoy left Prince Rupert, a port city in British Columbia near the Alaskan panhandle. The next day, a second convoy of trucks departed Delta, outside Vancouver, planning to cross the nation on the Trans-Canada Highway. Other convoys of hundreds of small and large trucks headed to Ottawa. These truckers and their allies were out of step with most Canadians, who recognized the lockdowns and vaccine mandates as public safety, not tyranny.

But the truckers did not care. Above all, they saw themselves as patriots. They dubbed their lines of trucks a "patriot movement." One convoy leader, Tom Marazzo, posted on X, "During my time at the Convoy, I met some of the most generous and patriotic Canadians of my generation who were there to 'do' something for their families, communities, and country." The drive into Ottawa "with the convoy…was the best day of my life as a Canadian since the 80's! It gave me the nostalgic vibe of what Canada was like growing up! We used to be so patriotic and some how [*sic*] along the way we lost that."

These truckers echoed what Alice Weidel had proclaimed before her AfD party faithful in 2017: that "we as democrats and patriots will not be silenced." Great replacement politicians from Canada to Chile to Czechia have projected themselves as patriots, fighting to restore what was gained by the nation's founders, what is now being lost. These errors—zero-sum thinking, denial of racial data, and misdefinition of racism—compound to spawn the notion that racism against peoples of color has ended and racism against White Christian "natives" is rising. And from that conclusion, there springs another idea: one must fight like the patriots, like the nation's founders, against the great replacement. This is the seventh link in the chain of ideas. As Renaud Camus stressed, the people who "have the nerve to resist the Great Replacement" have "patriotic sentiment."

BJ Dichter was one of the hundreds of self-described "patriots" converging on Ottawa in their trucks. He helped Tamara Lich raise millions for the convoy on GoFundMe from great replacement financiers. Dichter identified as the vice president of the convoy. He had long been interested in public office. In 2015, he ran for Parliament as a member of Canada's Conservative Party. When he lost, he left the Conservative Party. Dichter joined Canada's new great replacement party.

CHAPTER 76

People's Party

BJ Dichter addressed the People's Party at its first national convention in August 2019. "Canada is ill and suffering and it is suffering from the stench of cultural relativism and political Islam," Ditcher said.

Back in 2017, the soon-to-be founder of the People's Party of Canada had campaigned to lead the Conservative Party. A banker like Alice Weidel before pursuing public office, Maxime Bernier had been a member of Parliament for the Conservative Party since 2006 and Canada's foreign minister from 2007 to 2008. But he finished in second place in the 2017 election to lead Canada's Tories. He left the party after classing it as "too intellectually and morally corrupt to be reformed." At the same time, did he recognize the growth of great replacement parties worldwide following the election of Donald Trump? Was that why he founded the People's Party in 2018?

To build out his base, Bernier recruited members of the Northern Guard, an Islamophobic ultranationalist group. In a picture he took with members, one flashed the "White power" hand sign. Bernier reached out to Travis Patron, the leader of the Canadian Nationalist Party, a tiny great replacement party pushing for a decrease in immigration and barring certain immigrants on the basis of race or ethnicity. When the press reported the call, Bernier orchestrated

distance by saying "he was unfamiliar" with the Canadian Nationalist Party's beliefs. Patron clarified for the record, "Maxime was aware of our party." All this recruiting of Nazis and neo-Nazis in Canada did not lead to much at the ballot box in the People's Party's first election, in 2019.

But the 2021 elections, held September 20, were a different story. Bernier ran hard on the claim that vaccine and mask mandates were taking away the freedoms of Canadians. "Before, when I was talking about freedom, people would say, 'Maxime, what do you mean, freedom?' " he said during the campaign. "And now, they know. They have a big example in front of them every day of their life." Bernier managed to nearly triple his party's vote total from 2019. But that merely amounted to about 5 percent of the vote in the 2021 elections, not enough for his party to enter Parliament. Bernier did not even win back his Parliament seat.

—

One White Canadian who resented COVID-19 restrictions from the day they were first imposed in the spring of 2020 started stockpiling gas and food and guns.

The paranoia of fifty-one-year-old Gabriel Wortman seemed to be rooted in his intense distrust of the Canadian government led by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. Wortman believed the lockdowns were only the beginning. He feared he was going to die. He feared the conventional banking system and infrastructure would collapse. He started liquidating assets. As a denturist, he operated two oral care clinics in Nova Scotia, in Halifax and Dartmouth. But the clinics, as nonessential, were forced to close during the pandemic.

A cousin described Wortman as "almost a career criminal" who did "a lot of stuff but never got caught." In fact, Wortman had wanted to become a police officer when he was younger. He

collected law enforcement memorabilia and enjoyed restoring old police vehicles.

On April 18, 2020, Wortman argued with his common-law spouse. He tied her up in their cottage in Portapique, Nova Scotia—par for the course after twenty years of abuse. He poured gasoline inside their cottage, around a warehouse on their property, and on their vehicles. Wortman did not light a match. Perhaps he planned to come back. He dressed up in a uniform of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, then packed a refurbished police cruiser with guns and gasoline. He set off on a murder spree. (His wife escaped and found shelter in the woods.) In sixteen different places across Nova Scotia, Wortman shot thirteen people and set home fires that murdered nine people and their pets. He slaughtered twenty-two people in total. His murder spree ended only a day later when police killed him during a pit stop for gas in Enfield.

Maxime Bernier expressed his "condolences to the family and friends of the victims of today's appalling shooting in Nova Scotia." Bernier did not acknowledge that his People's Party had incited the paranoia of Canadian voters like Wortman—and later the truckers converging on Ottawa.

CHAPTER 77

Occupation

By January 29, 2022, Parliament Hill in Canada's capital is almost fully occupied. As many as 10,000 "patriots" are there demanding the overthrow of the democratically elected federal government so they can end vaccine and mask mandates. They are pressing Canada's federal government, when in fact it is the provincial governments that are largely responsible for instituting (and can reverse) public health restrictions. They blame Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of the Liberal Party for all the restrictions and mandates, when in fact most of those provincial governments are led by the "ideological cousins" of the Conservative Party.

Organizers call it the largest truck convoy in history, an exaggerated claim. Hundreds of trucks, of all sizes, occupy almost every street around Parliament Hill, stretching into the surrounding residential areas in downtown Ottawa. Bridges are jammed with trucks. Healthcare workers and other essential workers struggle to get to work. The honking of trucks is incessant, angering business owners and residents. One local resident later testifies to an "assault on my hearing."

Some of these "patriots" desecrate the grounds of the National War Memorial that commemorates Canadians fallen in wars since World War I. In front of the National War Memorial is Canada's

Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The truckers show their patriotism by dancing on this tomb.

Truckers and non-truckers hang anti-vaccine statements wherever they can, even on statues near Parliament Hill. An upside-down Canadian flag with a sign declaring "Mandate Freedom" covers a statue of Canadian hero Terry Fox, an amputee athlete who raised money for cancer. Truckers set off fireworks. They throw rocks at an ambulance. They call paramedics racist slurs. Traffic disruptions force a downtown vaccine clinic and school to close. Maskless truckers force a downtown mall to close. Demonstrators overrun the Shepherds of Good Hope soup kitchen, demanding food. "One member of our shelter community was assaulted by protestors," the soup kitchen tweets. "A security guard went to his aid and was threatened and called racial slurs."

Ottawa's COVID-19 wastewater signal rises dramatically that weekend as truckers prowl the streets of downtown Ottawa, assaulting mask wearers. They assault a mask-wearing pastor and use his church as a urinal. Three demonstrators stop an Asian Ottawa resident and ask him to "do the dragon dance." When he refuses, they beat him up. A convoy pickup truck drives by some teenage girls waiting at a bus stop, and its male occupants yell, "Take it off, take it off!"

Maxime Bernier recognizes an enormous political opportunity to expand his People's Party of Canada with these truckers and the media attention they are commanding. Bernier attributes the growth in support for his party in 2021 to COVID-19 restrictions.

—

The pandemic was seen as a political opportunity around the world as politicians created new great replacement parties everywhere.

In Japan, Sanseitō (Political Participation Party) was founded in 2020, spreading COVID-19 misinformation and attracting anti-

vaccine voters. Its co-founder and first party leader, Manabu Matsuda, would ultimately call the vaccine a "murder weapon." After losing an election for the House of Representatives in 2012, co-founder and current party leader Sohei Kamiya launched a YouTube channel and founded "Ishiki Kaikaku University," an online and in-person lecture series on a variety of historical and philosophical topics. He offered content on "the 'hidden power' that controls this world" and he asked, "Was Hitler really a great evil?" Great replacement Bolivians created Creemos (We Believe) in 2020. Creemos ran Luis Fernando Camacho, the "Bolsonaro of Bolivia," for president. He lost, but the next year won the governor's race in his department of Santa Cruz. Also in 2020, Lithuanians founded the Nacionalinis Susivienijimas (National Alliance) to "emphasize the importance of nationalism and the values of Christian civilization, and oppose deepening the integration of the European Union," according to reporters. In Croatia, the Domovinski Pokret (Homeland Movement) was founded for similar reasons. The new party finished third in Croatia's parliamentary elections in July.

In Argentina, Javier Milei established La Libertad Avanza, or Liberty Advances, in 2021. Milei acknowledged that pandemic restrictions were key to his political ascent "because [they] placed liberty at centre-stage." During the pandemic, he constantly touted his political slogan, *"¡Viva la libertad, carajo!"*—"Long live freedom, damn it!" Milei constantly went on television and social media to slam the "political caste" for imposing unnecessary and economically harmful mandates and restrictions. "Quarantine is used as a mechanism of repression," Milei said.

Those generating and capitalizing on the fury over COVID-19 restrictions were not only politicians founding new great replacement parties, but also many of those great replacement politicians who had established political parties on the eve of the pandemic.

CHAPTER 78

Anti-Vaccine Parties

In Romania, the Alliance for the Unity of Romanians, created in 2019, transfigured into "the anti-vaccine party" and received a boost at the polls in December 2020. "Vaccination should not be a condition for our freedom and people should have a right to cho[o]se," party leader George Simion tweeted. In Greece, the Niki (Victory) party, founded in 2019, "gained a following over its opposition to the government's COVID-19 vaccination program," the Associated Press reported.

Bulgaria had the highest coronavirus death rates in Europe. Still, the Revival party campaigned against COVID-19 restrictions and vaccines during the 2021 elections. Revival founder Kostadin Kostadinov repeatedly described the COVID vaccine as an "experimental liquid." The great replacement party secured 4.9 percent of the vote that year, or thirteen seats in the National Assembly, upping their 1 percent total four years earlier and entering the Bulgarian legislature for the first time.

In Portugal on August 5, 2021, Chega party leader André Ventura encouraged his supporters to rally with him the following day in Porto, Portugal, against COVID "restrictions," "the vaccination certificate," and "the destruction of the Portuguese economy." Ventura proclaimed, "Our freedom has no price, and neither does our dignity!" Political scientists José Santana-Pereira and Elisabetta

De Giorgi showed that "dissatisfaction" with how the Socialist Party government dealt with the pandemic "and a negative assessment of the pandemic's impact on the way Portuguese democracy works impacted vote intentions, namely by increasing the odds of voting for Chega" during the 2021 elections.

In Chile, José Antonio Kast supported vaccines and ultimately supported vaccine passports. But during his nearly victorious campaign for president in 2021, he hammered Gabriel Boric for promising "to lock up all Chileans again, with quarantines, curfews, and restrictions. If you value your freedom, you already know who NOT to vote for."

A corruption scandal hit the leadership of Austria's Freedom Party in 2019, causing the party to hemorrhage support. But its "vaccine skepticism" gave the party "new credibility with its base." It rose in the polls in 2021. Austria was the first country in Europe to mandate COVID-19 vaccinations, in November 2021. Freedom Party head Herbert Kickl declared the new vaccine mandate "nothing short of a gigantic attack on the freedom of the Austrian people."

—

The talking point of pandemic restrictions curtailing freedom added to great replacement politicians' hard-worn narrative of lives and livelihoods and cultures being curtailed. But the pandemic did not universally boost their electoral prospects, as did the Great Recession, the migrant crisis, and actual terror attacks. In the Netherlands, Geert Wilders lied about intensive care units being "mainly" occupied by "patients with a non-Western background." His party's opposition to mandatory quarantines for close contacts of the infected, mandatory vaccinations, and vaccine passports may have cost it seats in the 2021 parliamentary elections.

Donald Trump's neglectful handling of the pandemic in the United States contributed to his defeat in the 2020 presidential

election. In Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro's murderous hands-off approach to the pandemic—calling COVID-19 "a bit of a cold," urging Brazilians to disobey local social distancing orders, claiming vaccinated Britons were developing AIDS—contributed to his loss in the 2022 presidential election.

The AfD transformed into the anti-vaccine party in Germany. This allowed the AfD to secure about half of unvaccinated voters in the 2021 elections. On the campaign trail in 2021, Alice Weidel alleged that unvaccinated Germans were facing "discrimination." But the AfD ended up losing seats in the 2021 elections. Political scientists Michael Bayerlein and Anne Metten explained, "Western German regions hit especially hard by the pandemic display a lower AfD vote share than other regions." Other researchers speculated that, with immigration as a less salient issue, the AfD's voter share would have dropped even more if not for the pandemic.

Even where the pandemic undermined the electoral prospects of great replacement parties, they likely benefited from the long-term effects of the pandemic, because it normalized concepts that in the past were controversial—such as border control. Political scientist Jean-Yves Camus (no relation to Renaud Camus) observed, "Border control has even been mentioned by [French President Emmanuel] Macron in his speeches, so it's not just a topic that belongs to the far-right agenda anymore."

"Border control" had not been mobilizing White voters in Canada, though. During the pandemic, Canadian citizens had a different relationship with immigration than did citizens in almost every other majority-White country.

CHAPTER 79

Political Suicide

In Canada, what separated People's Party (PPC) voters from Conservative Party voters during the 2021 elections was "their views on the COVID-19 pandemic, and specifically on the issue of vaccination, vaccine mandates and vaccine passports," according to political scientists Andrew Parkin and Justin Savoie. Among PPC supporters, "the No. 1 issue was the loss of freedom stemming from vaccine mandates—a concern barely mentioned by anyone who supported other parties." To win back those PPC voters, Parkin and Savoie suggested Conservatives had to tap into their "opposition to vaccines" without alienating other voters, because PPC voters and Conservative voters were aligned on immigration.

Talking points opposing immigrants of color in Canada had not keyed the growth of great replacement parties. Canada has one of the highest immigration rates in the world, three or four times higher than in the United States. Canadians have tended not to feel threatened by these immigrants, who increasingly come from Asia and Africa. Many Canadians recognized that these immigrants were the answer to their country's future population and economic growth, with Canada's population quickly aging. Between 2016 and 2021, immigrants accounted for four-fifths of labor force growth. So many immigrants had come to Canada in recent years that about a quarter of Canada's population were immigrants in 2022. So many

Canadians were immigrants that both the Conservative and Liberal Parties courted their vote when they became citizens. It would have been political suicide to do otherwise. By 2041, immigrants could represent one-third of the population of Canada.

All to say, Canada's Tories were probably not surprised that Parkin and Savoie's research, published in November 2021, revealed that opposition to vaccine mandates, not immigration, drew voters to Maxime Bernier's new great replacement party.

—

One member of Parliament, who is married to an immigrant from Venezuela, likely examined this study closely. He hailed from Calgary, in Western Canada, like many of the truckers occupying Ottawa. Pierre Poilievre had long consumed political data, and he had long been ambitious. At the University of Calgary, where he studied international relations, he was a finalist in an essay contest envisioning what he would do as Canada's prime minister. His essay title: "Building Canada Through Freedom."

When Stockwell Day ran in 2000 to lead the Canadian Alliance, the new brand of the Reform Party of Canada, Poilievre volunteered for Day's campaign. Poilievre distinguished himself enough that Day offered him a job as a legislative assistant. In 2003, the Canadian Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives merged to form the Conservative Party of Canada. The ambitious Poilievre recognized a political opportunity. He ran in the 2004 elections to represent the electoral district of Nepean—Carleton in eastern Ontario. He won, becoming a member of the Canadian Parliament at twenty-five years old.

Poilievre became known as "Skippy," always on the frontlines as the Tories' "attack dog." Like Bernier, Poilievre served in several ministerial posts. He considered a run to lead the Conservative Party in 2020, three years after Bernier did. But Poilievre decided

against it, possibly recognizing he could not defeat the incumbent, Erin O'Toole. But two years later, when these truckers rolled into Ottawa, Poilievre decided to hitch a ride and roll into leadership of the Conservative Party, while rolling over Bernier's upstart People's Party.

—

As convoys of truckers drive into Ottawa on the afternoon of January 29, 2022, Poilievre stands on a highway overpass. He wears sunglasses, red mittens with the Canadian maple leaf, and a Canada Goose jacket with a fur collar. With trucks honking behind him, with a crowd behind him waving Canadian flags and cheering on the trucks, Poilievre yells over the noise into a camera. He is filming an unofficial campaign video that he will post on his social media accounts. At the time, Conservative MPs are poised to vote out Tory leader Erin O'Toole after the party's disappointing showing in the 2021 elections. Poilievre is beginning his campaign to replace O'Toole, using the truckers as political props.

The protest is "for truckers, but it's also a rally for the 60 percent of Canadians who say they worry they can't afford food," Poilievre yells in the video. It's so cold that every breath is visible. This protest is "for the sixty-year-old small businessman who has spent his entire adult life building up an enterprise and watching it wiped out." It is "for the depressed fourteen-year-old who's been locked out of school" and for "the families that can't take it anymore," Poilievre says. It is for all "the people who want to stand up and speak for their freedoms."

"Freedom, not fear," Poilievre ends. "Truckers, not Trudeau."

Bernier is with the protesters too, practically competing with Poilievre to be the political face of the trucker convoy. Bernier tweets a picture of himself speaking through a bullhorn with demonstrators and the Parliament building behind him. His caption:

“We have a clear message for all governments in this country: WE. WANT. OUR. LIVES. BACK!” In subsequent days, Bernier passes out “freedom pancakes” and poses with truckers for pictures. Bernier bills the truckers as “freedom-loving Canadians” who oppose living in a society “where our government controls our life, controls everything.” His people “want a society where we do what we want to do.” A society, seemingly, where they had the freedom to infect, hospitalize, and kill themselves and others with COVID-19.

The chain of ideas not only provides the basis for great replacement theory to bamboozle privileged groups into believing their lives, livelihoods, power, and cultures are being threatened and replaced. It also conveys that their “freedoms” are threatened. The protesters and politicians defending “freedom” have identified themselves as patriots standing in the legacy of the nation’s purported freedom-fighting founders.

CHAPTER 80

Freedom Convoy

The truckers named their protest the "Freedom Convoy." One of the Canadian organizations that supported the convoy was dubbed "Taking Back Our Freedoms." One of the great replacement financiers supporting the convoy was Frank Stronach, an elderly Austrian Canadian billionaire who later would be arrested for a litany of sexual assault allegations dating from 1977 to 2024. The "truckers have become a strong voice for many Canadians who want to reclaim the freedoms and civil liberties that were taken from us during the pandemic," Stronach wrote in the conservative *National Post.* "And that is why for many of us—me included—the Canadian truckers are modern-day freedom fighters."

Latvia's National Alliance described its core political values as "the Latvian nation, language and culture, honour and remembrance of heroes, independence and growth of Latvia." Back in 2010, party leader Raivis Dzintars asked, "Will schoolchildren be raised as patriots?" Likewise, in Montenegro, the founder of Prava Crna Gora (True Montenegro), Marko Milačić, objected in 2019 to living "in an environment of lack of freedom." He named a series of "fathers" who had led battles against the Muslim Ottoman Empire, including Petar II Petrović-Njegoš and Marko Miljanov. (Brenton Tarrant, who murdered all those Muslims in Christchurch, wrote Miljanov's name on his murder weapon.) In announcing his party in

Montenegro in 2018, Milačić said, "The time has come for modern patriotism and civilized patriotism. The spirit of the ancestors for the twenty-first century. We will call ourselves True Montenegro because we do not accept the Montenegro we have today, which is dominantly false and falsified." His party aimed to "return this country to its right path…one that the fathers of this country have charted with their lives and deeds."

In Spain, Vox has connected its party to the medieval campaigns of Christians to drive out of Portugal and Spain the Muslims who'd invaded and took over starting in 711. The centuries-long "Reconquista" to seize back control of the Iberian peninsula had been completed by 1492. Vox leaders have fashioned their party as the heroic defenders of the nation, fighting for Christian freedom against Muslim "invaders."

Senator Ralph Babet of the United Australia Party, in his first senate speech in 2022, stressed that Australians have been "witnessing the steady decline of our traditional institutions, such as family, marriage, religion, the sanctity of life, patriotism, borders, and education." Babet grieved that "terms like 'white privilege' and 'gender fluidity' have now become commonplace…a vision which would seek to destroy the very systems that have made us one of the greatest countries in the world and turn us into a shadow of our former selves." Australia's former self was a penal colony, founded on the genocide of Aboriginal Australians and the forced and whipped labor of 165,000 incarcerated White people transported there from Wales, England, Scotland, and Ireland between 1788 and 1868.

Poilievre slammed Canada's 2023 passport redesign, which removed images of the founding fathers of Canada and others like Terry Fox. "We can have no heroes," he said, "and our history must be portrayed as a wretched pile of injustices to justify remaking everything from scratch." At the same time, Poilievre proclaimed a new set of national heroes: the truckers in the convoy.

CHAPTER 81

Heard

On Saturday, January 29, 2022, Poilievre visits the truck convoy in downtown Ottawa, likely after making the overpass video. He witnesses a carnival-like atmosphere. Protesters consume marijuana while eating cookies and barbecued food. Protesters drink beer and play music. Children jump on bouncy castles.

Poilievre posts on Facebook an image of himself handing food up to a trucker. "The truckers I've met today have been peaceful, kind and patriotic," reads his caption.

On Monday, January 31, Canada's Parliament reopens. "I was at an overpass as the truckers went by, and what I saw were cheerful, patriotic, optimistic Canadians who want their freedom back and want their livelihoods back," Poilievre declares during a debate. "These are the people that are standing up and fighting for their livelihoods and freedom. Why won't the government finally stand *with* them?"

In 2020, Canada's First Nations activists engaged in a blockade, like these truckers are doing, to protest a pipeline. Poilievre did not rally around these Indigenous peoples and demand the government stand with them. He did not argue they were fighting for the freedom to protect the environment and live in a safe place. "These blockaders are taking away the freedom of other people to move their goods and themselves," Poilievre said in a TV interview. "That

is wrong, and the government has laws and tools in place to combat it." This hypocrisy is par for the course for great replacement politicians. From their perspective, when people protest against an injustice, they are rebels striving to take away freedoms. When people protest for an injustice, they are patriots seeking to protect freedoms.

Other Tory MPs stood with Poilievre to cast the truckers as patriots. "I do get very defensive of Canadians who are outside today: patriotic, peace-loving Canadians who are called misogynists and racists by the prime minister," said MP Candice Bergen. Both Poilievre and Bergen framed Trudeau as the real racist, referencing the 2019 revelations that in high school he had dressed up in blackface and brownface. Poilievre and Bergen framed the truckers as "not racist." All to frame their support as "not racist."

As Poilievre expected, the leader of the Conservative Party, Erin O'Toole, was forced out of his position. The trucker convoy, though by then drastically diminished in number, continued to occupy Parliament Hill in early February 2022. Tory MPs tapped Candice Bergen to be their interim leader, while Poilievre officially launched his campaign for the post. Bergen asked the truckers to end the occupation and go home. "Conservatives have heard you and we will stand up for you and all Canadians who want to get back to normal life," Bergen said.

That same day Poilievre refused to tell the truckers to go home. He ran almost as the parliamentary representative of the trucker convoy. "I'm proud of the truckers and I stand with them," he said on a podcast. Poilievre wanted Canadians who were "being inconvenienced" to blame Trudeau—not the truckers. Trudeau's "intransigence is keeping the protests going," Poilievre said.

Poilievre's own intransigent support for the trucker convoy and his tactics to take over the Conservative Party found "political inspiration not from Canada, but from the far-right Tea Party movement," opined columnist Bob Hepburn in the *Toronto Star.*

On to the Tea Party movement.

CHAPTER 82

Tea Party

American politicians have always referred back to the founding fathers. But after the inauguration of Barack Obama in 2009 and the Tea Party movement took over the Republican Party, great replacement politicians bonded themselves to the founding fathers like no group of politicians in recent memory. They projected the founding fathers as defenders of freedom in order to project themselves as acting in their legacy in the twenty-first century. "The very founders that wrote those [founding] documents worked tirelessly until slavery was no more in the United States," said Minnesota Congresswoman Michele Bachmann—against all evidence to the contrary—in 2011, the year after she'd founded the Tea Party Caucus in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, who ran for president in 2024, first rode into Congress on the Tea Party convoy in the 2012 elections. In 2011, DeSantis published *Dreams from Our Founding Fathers,* a snide riff on Barack Obama's 1995 memoir, *Dreams from My Father.* DeSantis drew a historical line from the founding fathers to the Tea Party movement. Obama's agenda was "a far cry from the dreams bequeathed to us by the Founding Fathers," DeSantis argued.

On September 17, 2020, on the anniversary of the signing of the U.S. Constitution, Donald Trump stood in the National Archives

Museum in Washington, D.C. Wearing no mask in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic, he kicked off the "White House Conference on American History." He described the signing of the Constitution as "that fulfillment of a thousand years of Western civilization." But "a radical movement is attempting to demolish this treasured and precious inheritance…. There is no better example than the *New York Times*'s totally discredited 1619 Project."

Created by journalist Nikole Hannah-Jones as a special issue of *The New York Times Magazine* in 2019, then expanded into a 2021 book, The 1619 Project positioned 1619—when the first known enslaved Africans arrived in the British colonies—as the beginning of the American story, and situated slavery and its ongoing legacy at the center of the American national narrative. The project's contributors argued "that much about American identity, so many of our nation's most vexing problems, our basest inclinations, and its celebrated and unique cultural contributions spring not from the ideals of 1776 but the realities of 1619, from the contradictions and ideological struggles of a nation founded on both slavery and freedom," as Hannah-Jones wrote in the preface of the book. Ever since its initial publication the project compelled Americans to rethink the popular story of America as singularly a freedom story. "This project rewrites American history to teach our children that we were founded on the principle of oppression, not freedom," Trump said. "Nothing could be further from the truth."

Trump termed The 1619 Project "critical race theory" that's "being forced into our children's schools…. And patriotic moms and dads are going to demand that their children are no longer fed hateful lies about this country." On September 17, 2020, Trump announced the establishment of the 1776 Commission "to promote patriotic education…. With the help of everyone here today, the legacy of 1776 will never be erased," he said. "Children will be taught to love America," Stephen Miller said in the White House briefing room. "Children will be taught to be patriots."

The opening section of Project 2025 positioned the United States as "now divided between two opposing forces: woke revolutionaries and those who believe in the ideals of the American revolution." Trump had already positioned himself as believing in the ideals of the American Revolution. On July 4, 2023, he posted an image of his face superimposed over that of a Revolutionary War leader. He posted a video of an address he gave in Pickens, South Carolina, in which he praised Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and "the great general Andrew Pickens," an enslaver who battled Loyalists and Cherokee allies of the British during the American Revolution. "Nearly two and a half centuries ago, brave American patriots risked their lives for the majestic cause of freedom," Trump said in the video. As historian Heather Cox Richardson has noted, "Oligarchs tap into the extraordinary strength of the ideology of American freedom."

The truckers occupying Ottawa in 2022 see themselves as Canadian patriots risking their lives for the majestic cause of freedom.

CHAPTER 83

A Swastika

The truckers are clearly in control. Many of downtown Ottawa's landmarks are closed, including city hall and the National Arts Centre.

On February 2, 2022, the truckers demand all governments across Canada "end all mandates associated with COVID-19." They pledge to stay in Ottawa "as long as it takes for freedom to be restored." The truckers continue their occupation day after day, week after week.

In the early days of the convoy, a poll finds that 90 percent of Ottawa residents want the truckers to leave town and 75 percent of Canadians want the truckers to head home. Maybe most Canadians know that the lockdowns and vaccine mandates have saved tens of thousands of Canadian lives and billions of dollars. Or maybe they've learned about the flags and symbols that the truckers are bringing to their protests.

"And now there is a swastika being flown at our parliament," New Democratic Party MP Charlie Angus notes during the protests. "A fucking swastika."

Photographer Kevin King of *The Winnipeg Sun* captures a White woman smiling from the driver's seat of her blue Ram 1500 pickup truck, her left arm resting on the door. To the left of the door handle is a large sticker of the yellow star badge that Nazis required Jews

to wear. The imprint on the badge: "FREEDOM." (Nazi officials viewed these yellow star badges as *freeing* their people from being unknowingly poisoned by the company of Jews.)

When Alberta Conservative MP Michael Cooper gives a television interview at the protest, viewers can see behind him an upside-down Canadian flag with a swastika printed on it. Later that evening, Cooper tweets a statement: "Naziism is the purest form of evil." The person with the swastika "does not represent the thousands of peaceful protesters." Journalist Justin Ling resists Cooper's orchestrated distancing. "Michael, I spent all day in this crowd," Ling posts. "This one"—referring to a picture in his tweet of a man holding a poster—"which calls Trudeau an 'assassin' with the Schutzstaffel symbols, was making its rounds for a good while." The dreaded Schutzstaffel, or SS, began as the personal bodyguard contingent of Adolf Hitler before transforming into the elite paramilitary guard of Nazi Germany. Sandwiched between "A*SS*A*SS*IN" and "TRUDEAU" is a depiction of a syringe, a reference to vaccination.

Truckers carry the yellow Gadsden flag featuring its rattlesnake and "DON'T TREAD ON ME"—that favorite of the U.S. Tea Party. The flag was designed in 1775 by a South Carolina enslaver named Christopher Gadsden. During the Civil War, Confederates repurposed the Gadsden flag and printed it on paraphernalia. Matthew Chen, a vaccinated Asian Canadian man carrying the Gadsden flag, informs a television reporter that he's out supporting individual freedom.

At least one "Trump 2024" flag is spotted. Truckers bring out their Confederate flags too. "They're telling me that it's racist. It's not racist," says a roofer named Maurice Landriault when asked about his Confederate flag.

Some truckers fly the black-and-white Molon Labe flag showcasing a Spartan helmet. *Molon labé* is Greek for "come and take them." On the trucker convoy's crowdfunding pages, there are "frequent references to the phrase 'Molon Labe,' Leonidas, and more

generally the Spartans, whom white nationalists make their model for such resistance," wrote a research team led by classics professor Katherine Blouin.

Martin Sellner has constantly invoked Sparta in speeches. When Turkey eased restrictions on Syrian refugees crossing the border into Greece in 2020, Sellner posted a YouTube video urging his followers to travel to Greece to defend White people. The video opened with an image of an armed Spartan hoplite. Sellner compared his comrades at the Greek border to the ancient Spartans fighting off a Persian invasion, like the Battle of Thermopylae in 480 BCE, depicted in the blockbuster film *300.*

CHAPTER 84

Quebec City

It was likely a coincidence that the truckers held their first major rally in Ottawa on January 29, 2022. Though it did happen to be the five-year anniversary of a massacre. At around 8 P.M. on January 29, 2017, a twenty-seven-year-old White man named Alexandre Bissonnette strode into the Islamic Cultural Centre in Quebec City with a gun and slayed six Muslim men and injured more than a dozen others as they finished their evening prayers.

Bissonnette's friends and online activity conveyed he had little interest in great replacement theory until March 2016. That month, Marine Le Pen visited the French-speaking Quebec City. After her trip, Bissonnette expressed tenets of great replacement theory online and in person. When walking with a friend by a mosque, he disparaged Muslims. He told the friend he opposed immigration because immigrants "changed neighbourhoods" and "increased unemployment." On his Facebook page, Bissonnette indicated admiration for Le Pen, the Israeli Defense Forces, and Canada's New Democratic Party (NDP), which campaigned in the 2015 federal election on lowering prescription drug costs, creating jobs and affordable childcare, and reinstating and raising the federal minimum wage, among other things. Interestingly, the NDP's platform pledged "to help reunite families and support refugees," "greater priority on family reunification," and to restore the Interim

Federal Health Care Program for refugees. Yet again, to presume all believers of great replacement theory are "far right" has concealed people like Bissonnette. He wanted to decrease unemployment and increase public resources to improve the livelihoods of (implicitly White) Canadians—and he believed immigrants (or citizens) of color were undermining these "progressive" goals.

While Bissonnette expressed admiration for Canada's New Democratic Party, his political violence was surely not inspired by it. In the month before the shooting, Bissonnette obsessively visited the social media accounts of Tucker Carlson, former Klan leader David Duke, alt-right leader Richard Spencer, and Fox News host Laura Ingraham. Bissonnette checked the Twitter feed of Ben Shapiro, editor in chief of the *Daily Wire,* ninety-three times in the weeks leading up to the shooting. He seemingly searched no one's Twitter feed more than Donald Trump's, then newly inaugurated as U.S. president. Bissonnette shared Islamophobic conspiracy theories with his father. After the shooting, when asked if his son was racist, Bissonnette's father engaged in proximity denial: "No, he has had black friends."

On January 11, 2017, a judge sentenced Dylann Roof to death for the murders of nine Black parishioners in a South Carolina church. Bissonnette appeared to follow the case closely. Between January 1 and January 29, the day of his attack, Bissonnette searched online 201 times for details about Roof. He likely read Roof's manifesto.

Two days before Bissonnette's shooting, Trump had announced his travel ban on seven Muslim-majority countries. Six days before that, the Women's March demonstrations had gripped the world, as march co-chair Linda Sarsour, a Muslim American, prepared to be the lead plaintiff in an unsuccessful suit to strike down Trump's travel ban. Both the Muslim travel ban and the Women's March were likely on Bissonnette's mind when he read a conspiracy theory online on January 29. Apparently, "radical Muslims" were the "dark,

powerful, hidden force" that organized the Women's March, Bissonnette read. Inverting the anti-Islamophobic activism of organizers like Sarsour, this conspiracy theory maintained that this radical Muslim force would not stop until White women were wearing hijabs. After consuming this conspiracy theory, Bissonnette learned of Prime Minister Trudeau's announcement that Canada might take in Muslim refugees who were denied entry into the United States. "I saw that and I, like, lost my mind," Bissonnette later informed the police. "It was then that I decided it was time to go." He opened fire in the mosque, worried Muslim refugees were on the way to Quebec to murder his relatives. Neo-Nazi great replacement theory had moved another person to murderous paranoia.

Two weeks after Bissonnette's terror attack, MP Iqra Khalid introduced a motion calling on the Canadian government to "condemn Islamophobia and all forms of systemic racism and religious discrimination." Maxime Bernier, then a Conservative MP, asked, "Why are we focusing on only one religion? Why are we not speaking about other religions?" The motion was agreed to on March 23, 2017. Bernier still voted against it. As did Pierre Poilievre. As did eighty-nine other Conservative MPs. In 2015, a motion passed with unanimous support from Conservative MPs that condemned "an alarming increase in anti-Semitism worldwide" and deemed "the combating of anti-Semitism…a domestic and international priority."

On the seventh anniversary of Bissonnette's terrorist attack, January 29, 2024, Pierre Poilievre addressed the House of Commons. He described Bissonnette as an "evil monster" and conveyed that "the promise of freedom, peace, and safety" was being "viciously stolen by the forces of hate and Islamophobia. It must never happen again. We must stand on guard for our Muslim friends and neighbors."

Poilievre's willingness to call Muslims "neighbors" and decry Islamophobia served as a major departure from Bernier and great replacement politicians outside of Canada. Poilievre seemingly has not attended or spoken at any of the CPACs or NatCons. Poilievre's major overlapping talking point with other great replacement politicians was that "*they*" are replacing "our" freedom. And Poilievre joined with great replacement politicians around the world in hailing the Canadian truckers as freedom fighters.

CHAPTER 85

Vaccine Discrimination?

"**Let me say,** the Canadian truckers are heroes, they are patriots, and they are marching for your freedom and for my freedom," Texas Senator Ted Cruz said on Fox News. Wisconsin Senator Ron Johnson echoed the same talking point: "These are people that are fighting for freedom." Donald Trump Jr. described the convoy as a "genius idea," urging his followers to "support these truckers fighting for freedom, fighting as patriots."

On January 28, 2022, at a "Save America" rally in Conroe, Texas, Donald Trump relayed that the time had come "for the American people to declare independence from every last COVID mandate…. The Canadian truckers…who are resisting bravely these lawless mandates, are doing more to defend American freedom than our own leaders by far." Donald Junior and Kentucky Senator Rand Paul were among those expressing their hope that truckers would organize a similar convoy in the United States. They did not have to wait long.

Trucks and cars assembled on March 4, 2022, at Maryland's Hagerstown Speedway, about eighty miles north of Washington, D.C. Two days later, these anti-vaxxers made a two-mile-long convoy and slowly drove around the Capital Beltway, the extremely busy sixty-four-mile mega-highway that surrounds Washington, D.C. "This convoy aims to bring back our freedoms," the so-called

"People's Convoy" stated on its Facebook page. This government "has forgotten its place and has no regard for our founding fathers [*sic*] instructions, The Constitution."

On March 10, 2022, Texas Senator Ted Cruz rode shotgun in the convoy's lead truck as it headed to a news conference outside the Capitol building. "I'm proud to stand with them," Cruz said at the news conference. The truckers left the area at the end of the month. By then, convoys were rolling around the world.

Pauline Hanson joined the protesters at the "Convoy to Canberra" outside Parliament in the capital of Australia. About 10,000 people gathered there for two weeks in early February 2022, inspired by the Canada trucker convoy. "We've been controlled by the politicians," said Hanson, a politician, on February 11. "I'm here as an Australian fighting for my rights and my freedoms." Two days later, Hanson demanded her colleagues pass "my legislation to end vaccine discrimination!" After inverting antiracism, feminism, and anti-Islamophobia, they were now inverting life-saving vaccines as "discrimination."

In New Zealand, thousands of participants of the so-called "Freedom Movement" camped in tents outside Parliament for more than three weeks, beginning February 8, 2022. Like their nearby Australians, these New Zealanders were protesting COVID restrictions and vaccine mandates. Before they arrived in Wellington, the capital, Winston Peters, the leader of New Zealand First, mirrored Poilievre, attempting to enter the spotlight as their political spokesman. "The freedom convoy heading to parliament represents a large number of kiwis who are frustrated with the govts delays, inconsistencies and incompetence resulting in the loss of freedoms and livelihoods," Peters tweeted. (New Zealanders often refer to themselves using the nickname "Kiwis.") Peters visited the encampments and defended the truckers who, he said, had been "misrepresented and gaslighted" in the press.

In Austria, police banned a "freedom" convoy from entering Vienna on February 11, 2022. Protesters ignored the ban and rolled into the city anyway. Freedom Party leader Herbert Kickl showed his support on Facebook: "Protest cannot be banned," he said in the caption of a video of the protesters. In France the following day, a trucker convoy defied a ban to enter Paris in protest of the country's COVID vaccine passport. Marine Le Pen urged the convoy to block the roads to make their voices heard. Dozens of trucks, cars, and motorcycles blocked traffic around the iconic Arc de Triomphe. Some waved Canadian flags. Police used tear gas to break up the protest and arrested more than fifty people. A Facebook group for this "French Freedom Convoy" amassed more than 300,000 members in a few days. But these protesters represented a sliver of a minority in France—similar to the protesters in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Austria. At the time, 92 percent of France's adult population had been vaccinated against COVID-19.

The most disruptive aspect of the Canadian trucker convoy that inspired all these protests did not occupy Ottawa's Parliament Hill. It occupied the place that started it all: U.S.-Canada border crossings such as the one where trucker Brigitte Belton had been barred entry for not wearing a mask.

CHAPTER 86

Emergencies Act

About 500 miles southwest of Ottawa, on the other side of Toronto, truckers blockaded the Ambassador Bridge between Windsor, Ontario, and Detroit, Michigan. Vehicles carry between $300 million and $450 million worth of goods across the Ambassador Bridge every day, making it the busiest commercial crossing in all of North America. Commercial trucks were diverted an hour's drive away to Port Huron's Blue Water Bridge, jamming it up with traffic.

About 1,251 miles west of Ottawa, trucks and farming equipment forced the closure of the border crossing between Emerson, Manitoba, and Pembina, North Dakota. Farther west, truckers blocked the main border crossing between Montana and Alberta, near Montana's Blackfeet Indian Reservation. The cost of all these blocked border crossings came to about $56 million (in Canadian dollars) per day. Poilievre orchestrated distance from the border blockages, even as he embraced the Ottawa demonstrators. His two faces looked foolish.

—

On February 14, 2022, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau invoked the Emergencies Act to end the trucker blockade. Police began the

process of clearing and opening back up the border crossings. They arrested many of the protesters, seizing their vehicles and weapons. By invoking the Emergencies Act for the first time since it was passed in 1988, Trudeau assumed the power to force people off the streets, ban people from public assembly, and freeze protesters' bank accounts. And that was precisely what he did on Parliament Hill between February 18 and 20. Chris Barber, Tamara Lich, and Pat King were all arrested.

In some cases, the truckers who escaped arrest moved their encampments to rural areas. But by February 21, the trucker convoy —as a protest force—had rolled into history.

And yet its utility as political springboard had only just started for Pierre Poilievre. He continued to run on the convoy issue to lead the Conservative Party. On May 9, 2022, Poilievre expressed on a podcast what made him more credible than other Tories. "I'm a believer in using simple Anglo-Saxon words that strike right at the meaning that I'm trying to convey," he said.

Five days later, Payton Gendron murdered ten African Americans in Buffalo, New York, a city that borders Canada. Poilievre's rival to lead the Conservative Party, Patrick Brown, pounced. "Here is Pat King, a leader of the convoy @PierrePoilievre supported, spreading the dangerous white supremacist 'White Replacement' conspiracy theory which was reported to have been in the Buffalo shooter's manifesto," Brown tweeted on May 15. Brown shared a video of King sitting inside a vehicle, saying, "There's an endgame. It's called depopulation of the Caucasian race, or the Anglo-Saxon." The endgame is not just to "infiltrate by flooding with refugees" but to "infiltrate the education systems to manipulate it to endorse this kind of behavior. This kind of behavior then endorses less procreation. So the less procreation, the less White people, or you know, Anglo-Saxon."

To Poilievre, Brown was "sleazy" for using the Buffalo "atrocity" to his political advantage. Poilievre denounced "the so-called 'white

replacement theory' as ugly and disgusting hate mongering. I also condemn Pat King and his ugly remarks."

Poilievre's orchestrating of distancing worked. His political instincts to run on the trucker convoy issue paid off. He won a first-ballot victory in September 2022 to lead Canada's Conservative Party. Meanwhile, Bernier's People's Party was floundering, with little support—likely because Poilievre's Conservative Party kept adopting more great replacement views. Poilievre pledged to focus on "restoring the Canada we love." He said immigration was "going to be much lower, especially for temporary immigration." He tied immigration to housing shortages. At the same time, he promoted immigrants to leadership roles in the Conservative Party, substantiating his proximity denial. Between September 2023 and February 2025, Poilievre's Conservative Party held a double-digit polling lead over Trudeau's Liberal Party, which Trudeau's resignation did not immediately alter. In early 2025, Poilievre appeared headed to become the next prime minister of Canada.

But that is still to come. A year after the so-called "patriots" danced on Canada's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the prime minister of another country approaches her own nation's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

LINK 8

Stand in the legacy of antislavery, anticolonialism civil rights activism, and antifascism.

//

Giorgia Meloni

Italy

CHAPTER 87

Roma

Italy's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier contains the remains of an unidentified trooper who died during World War I. This small shrine rests under a majestic statue of the goddess Roma, who is adorned in an ancient Roman robe, goatskin, a helmet, a crown of wolf heads. In her hands, she holds a spear and a statuette known as a winged victory. Roma is an ancient Roman deity who personifies the city of Rome and the Roman state.

Above Roma is the equestrian statue of Victor Emmanuel II of Savoy. He was the first king of unified Italy, ruling from 1861 to 1878.

This soldier. This goddess. This king. Together, they form the Altar of the Fatherland—the centerpiece of Italy's block-long national monument overlooking the Piazza Venezia. Not far away stands the ancient Colosseum, that icon of Rome.

Rome is chilly on April 25, 2023. The prime minister wears a high-necked white blouse under a black suit jacket with black suit pants. Her dyed blond hair hangs down over the shoulders of her suit jacket.

Giorgia Meloni performs her ceremonial duties on Italy's Liberation Day for the first time as prime minister. She is accompanied by Italy's president and the presidents of its Senate, Chamber of Deputies, and Constitutional Court.

Meloni's political party earned the most votes in Italy's general election seven months earlier, on September 25, 2022. It was the first general election after the COVID-19 pandemic. Italy had been the first European country hit hard by the pandemic, and it was the first to shut down. Like Pierre Poilievre's Conservatives in Canada, Meloni's Fratelli d'Italia (Brothers of Italy) ran in part on opposing COVID-19 closures, restrictions, and vaccine passports. As prime minister, Meloni rolled these measures back.

Meloni's party also successfully ran on reducing crime—and associating crime with immigration. Renaud Camus made the same association. "*Delinquents* are the soldiers" of the great replacement, he wrote. "There is no identifiable gap between their common law offences and their politically or religiously motivated crimes in the series of their actions targeting society."

During the wave of COVID-19 restrictions, media outlets reported a "crime wave" with little nuance, particularly in the United States. The United States experienced a 30 percent surge in homicides from 2019 to 2020. At the same time, assault, burglary, and trespassing declined, which hardly made the news. And news reports of the homicide surge ending in 2023 did not seem to curb some beliefs of a "crime wave."

Meloni does not wear a mask on Liberation Day. She does not recite one of her favorite fascist slogans: "God, fatherland, and family"—for this annual holiday commemorating the end of World War II in Italy. On April 25, 1945, the antifascist Italian Resistance undertook an uprising that ultimately freed the nation of Nazi occupiers and their fascist collaborators, led by Benito Mussolini.

As Meloni walks to the altar, upwards of 100,000 people are gathering in Milan to commemorate Italy's antifascist liberators. Connections to the present are not lost on the rallygoers. In Naples, antifascist demonstrators hold up placards with photographs of Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Giorgia Meloni.

Those placards reflect a history Meloni tries to escape.

CHAPTER 88

Benito Mussolini

In the 1920s, Adolf Hitler's political idol had been none other than Benito Mussolini, the Italian founder of fascism. Like Hitler, Mussolini served in the army during World War I, which estranged him from the antiwar Italian Socialist Party that had raised him politically. Mussolini's revolutionary socialism transformed into revolutionary fascism during the war years. By 1921, voters elected Mussolini for the first time to the Chamber of Deputies. He represented his newly formed National Fascist Party. His base of support resembled the bases of great replacement parties in the twenty-first century: those anti-socialist industrial and agrarian elites; those black-shirted fighting squads of resentful everyday Italians inflicting "purificatory" violence on socialists, unionists, and strikers.

In late October 1922, Mussolini led about 25,000 Blackshirts to march on Rome. They demanded the resignation of antifascist Prime Minister Luigi Facta. King Victor Emmanuel III, the leader of Italy's armed forces, refused Facta's request to declare martial law. Facta resigned in protest. The king appointed Mussolini prime minister, thinking he could restore order. But violence, intimidation, and propaganda over the next year and a half cleared the way for Mussolini's fascist coalition to secure two-thirds of parliament seats on April 6, 1924.

Not without resistance. On May 30, 1924, the socialist politician Giacomo Matteotti rose in the Chamber of Deputies, demanding that the "illegitimate" results of the April elections be thrown out. He scolded fascist political violence. Mussolini's deputies interrupted Matteotti's speech more than one hundred times. He kept going and condemning, condemning and going. After his speech, Matteotti half-joked with a colleague to write his eulogy.

On June 10, 1924, five fascist hit men abducted Matteotti in broad daylight as he walked to the legislative building in Rome. "You can kill me," Matteotti is believed to have said as he was kidnapped, "but you can never kill the idea within me." The idea: antifascism.

Matteotti's kidnapping gripped Italy, with demonstrations and protests in the summer of 1924. Two weeks after Matteotti's disappearance, and nearly two months before his body would be discovered in a wooded area a dozen miles outside Rome, Matteotti's Unitary Socialist Party joined with other antifascist parties and exited the Chamber of Deputies. Mussolini took advantage of the lack of opposition in parliament. On December 24, 1925, Mussolini claimed absolute power, subjecting himself only to King Victor Emmanuel III. He banned independent media and all opposition parties and organizations. He became, as historian Ruth Ben-Ghiat has stated, "the first man to transform a democracy into a dictatorship." History, a blueprint.

Fast-forward to June 1940. With the fall of France imminent, Hitler's army appeared headed for a decisive victory against the Allies in World War II. Twelve days before France's surrender, Mussolini's Italy officially entered the war to share the spoils with Nazi Germany. By 1943, the war had turned in the Allies' favor, with their forces securing major victories in the Pacific, on the Eastern Front, and in North Africa. The Allies invaded Sicily and set their eyes on the Italian mainland. The king removed Mussolini as prime minister and placed him under arrest. In September 1943, Nazi

paratroopers and SS commandos rescued the incarcerated Mussolini. Hitler appointed Mussolini the head of Germany's new puppet state in northern Italy, the Italian Social Republic.

After two years of fighting, antifascist Italians and Allied forces defeated troops loyal to Mussolini and Hitler in 1945. The doors of history closed on the two-year-old Italian Social Republic. Mussolini fled. Antifascists captured him on April 27, in a village north of Milan. They executed Mussolini the next day, confirming Hitler's final decision to commit suicide two days later. German forces in Italy surrendered on April 29, 1945, including José Antonio Kast's father.

Veterans of Mussolini's puppet government refused to allow fascism to die with Mussolini and Hitler. Different fascist factions created different groups. They united in 1946 and named their new political party the Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement, or MSI). They looked upon their new party as the organizational heir of the Italian Social Republic, that nemesis of Liberation Day. They set up their offices on Via della Scrofa in Rome, about a mile from the Altar of the Fatherland.

—

On Liberation Day 2023, Giorgia Meloni leads Brothers of Italy. Her party's headquarters retains the same Rome address as the headquarters of the party's forerunner: the Movimento Sociale Italiano. The logo of Meloni's party remains the same as the original MSI logo, a flame with the three colors of Italy's flag: green, white, and red. MSI founders chose the tricolor flame to signify "their first duty was defensive, not offensive: to keep the fascist torch aglow during the long, dark political winter to which Mussolini's fall had consigned them," noted historian Alexander Brown.

With Meloni now in power, to keep the fascist torch aglow she uses every opportunity to claim the torch has been extinguished.

CHAPTER 89

Italian Social Movement

Mussolini's disciples who founded the fascist Italian Social Movement in 1946 orchestrated distance from fascism. They stepped into the postwar antifascist consensus in Italy. So higher-ranking former leaders of the Italian Social Republic operated behind the scenes in the MSI. They made the relatively unknown Giorgio Almirante their leader. The thirty-two-year-old had been the chief of staff of the Ministry of Popular Culture in the Italian Social Republic. The MSI received funding from some of the same wealthy industrial and agrarian elites that had supported Mussolini. The MSI managed to win a mere six deputies (out of 574) and one senator (out of 237) during the 1948 Italian general election.

Almirante's unbending anti-NATO stance, like Trump's in recent years, handed his rivals in the party an opening to remove him. Augusto De Marsanich, a journalist and seasoned politician who worked in key banking and business roles in Mussolini's Italian Social Republic, took over in 1950. He led the party's slow electoral ascent along with another veteran of Italian fascism, Arturo Michelini, who headed the MSI from 1954 to 1969. The MSI experienced the internal clashes that great replacement parties now face in the twenty-first century: renovated neo-fascism to make the MSI more electable versus an old-school fascist faction. When

Giorgio Almirante reclaimed the party helm in 1969, he bridged the factions. The MSI subsequently grew in the 1970s.

During this time, in Rome, Francesco Meloni, a tax adviser, and Anna Meloni, who later became a novelist, had their second daughter in 1977. They named their newborn Giorgia. A year later, Francesco Meloni abandoned his wife and two young girls, sinking them into poverty.

Giorgia Meloni grew up during Italy's Years of Lead, between the late 1960s and late 1980s, when militant fascists and antifascists carried out more than a thousand terror attacks. One of the worst occurred when fascists bombed the Bologna railroad station in 1980, killing eighty-five people. The more voters learned about the MSI's connections to some of the terror attacks, the more voters pulled away from the party. The more voters pulled away, the more MSI leaders orchestrated distance and decried political violence. Over time, the party rehabilitated its image.

Giorgio Almirante's chosen successor, Gianfranco Fini, took over the MSI in 1987. Fini's father had volunteered for the Italian Social Republic, no doubt endearing him to the old guard of Mussolini acolytes who were passing away (Almirante died in 1988). Promising young leaders arrived too. A fifteen-year-old Giorgia Meloni joined MSI's Youth Front in 1992. She helped found a student collective named the Ancestors—more history Meloni has since tried to put behind walls.

CHAPTER 90

Fascist-Antifascist

Liberation Day's history directly implicates Meloni's party because of its direct line of descent from Mussolini's fascism. So Meloni rewrote the history. She deleted the *antifascist* politics of Italy's liberators in 1945 that are celebrated each year, and she concealed the fact that those Italians liberated themselves from the *fascist* founders of her political party. Meloni's Brothers of Italy has sought to dissolve "the fascist-antifascist binary upon which the democratic republic was built," historian Amy King explained. Meloni has cast those Italians associated with fascism—her party's founders then, her party now—as victims of fascism and contributors to the democratic republic. She traded what she considered the "divisive" fascist-antifascist binary for a supposedly unifying fascist-*Italian* binary, upon which a neo-fascist Italy can be built in the twenty-first century. That is, Meloni's neo-fascist project situates the true antagonists of Italian fascists as not Italian antifascists (like her political opponents) but rather Italian partisans (like her party members).

Italian writer Antonio Scurati addressed Meloni's rewriting of history in a monologue he composed for Liberation Day in 2024. Scurati authored the international bestseller *M: Son of the Century* —a novel documenting the rise of Mussolini—for which he won Italy's most prestigious literary prize in 2019. "Will the heirs to that

history recognize it once and for all?" Scurati asked. He answered his own question: no. Meloni's administration "could have gone down one of these two paths: repudiate its neo-fascist past or try to rewrite history," he said. "It has undoubtedly taken the second path."

During "historical anniversaries," Scurati said, Meloni "blamed the massacres carried out with the collaboration of Italian fascists on the Nazis alone." She never mentioned "the word 'anti-fascism.' Until that word—anti-fascism—is pronounced by those who govern us, the spectre of fascism will continue to haunt the house of Italian democracy."

One of the spring 1944 massacres that Scurati mourned in his speech was the Ardeatine Caves massacre of 335 Italians. In Meloni's telling, the "335 innocent Italians" were "killed simply because they were Italian." In fact, the 335 Italians—mostly political prisoners and Jews—were marched to the Ardeatine Caves and killed because they were antifascist (and anti-Nazi). Hitler had authorized the mass killing in retaliation for the antifascist bombing of German-speaking police from the Hitler-Mussolini SS. The officers largely hailed from Italy's South Tyrol province before Nazis occupied it in 1943. The bombing left forty-two officers dead.

Meloni's rewriting of history echoed Marine Le Pen's downplaying of the notorious Vél' d'Hiv' raid of July 1942. French police under Vichy arrested 13,000 Jewish people and confined them in a cycling track in Paris before deporting them to Nazi death camps, primarily Auschwitz. In April 2017, Le Pen laid the responsibility for this carnage fully at the feet of German Nazis. "It's not France," she said. To claim the Vichy administration bore responsibility would be to couple it with Nazi ideology. To couple the Vichy administration with Nazi ideology would be to couple the origins of her political party with Nazi ideology. Decoupling the Vichy administration from Nazis would be to decouple Le Pen's party from Nazi collaborators.

Giorgia Meloni and Marine Le Pen are hardly alone in rewriting history to orchestrate distance from ideological ancestors. Nor are they alone in celebrating the heroes of their nation—and connecting themselves to them—while editing out the antifascist politics of these national heroes. Other great replacement politicians honor the civil rights and decolonial heroes—and connect themselves to these heroes—while erasing the antiracist politics of these heroes. Still other great replacement politicians commemorate the antislavery heroes of their nation—and connect themselves to these heroes—while scrapping the *racist* politics of those national heroes.

In the historical struggles that ostensibly define most nations, there are pivotal moments when fascist, racist, and colonizing forces are engaged and defeated by antifascist, antiracist, and anticolonial forces. The struggle between these related binaries is the political struggle of much of modern history (when including anti-capitalism and capitalism). Great replacement politicians like Meloni want to dissolve these binaries and cross the wires of history. They want to seize the moral high ground of their nation's foremost heroes while erasing the antifascist, antiracist, and anticolonial politics of those heroes. At the same time, they want to claim their own fascist, racist, and colonizing forebears while refusing to name the politics of those forebears. All to push the ahistorical idea that the patriots who resist the purported great replacement in the present are standing in the legacy of antislavery, anticolonialism, civil rights activism, and antifascism.

It was perhaps Kevin D. Roberts, president of the Heritage Foundation, who best captured in Project 2025 this eighth link in the chain of ideas. He situated his fellow Republicans—whose leaders have faced "No Kings" protests, celebrated pro-slavery Confederates, opposed women's reproductive rights, advocated the colonization of Canada and Greenland, and been called fascist by scholars of fascism—as standing in the long line of Americans who "rejected European monarchy and colonialism" as well as "slavery,

second-class citizenship for women, mercantilism,…Fascism, Communism, and (today) wokeism."

Pushing this historical propaganda requires great replacement politicians to be very careful on days when national heroes are celebrated. Back on Liberation Day in 2023, when Meloni attends the wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, she does not utter a formal word. She does not address the press pool. She does not travel to the sites of Nazi and fascist massacres. She does not give a public speech. She lets a letter to the editor earlier that same morning in the daily *Corriere della Sera* do her talking.

CHAPTER 91

Resistance

"**Dear editor, today** Italy celebrates the anniversary of its Liberation," opens Giorgia Meloni's 2023 letter in *Corriere della Sera,* Italy's most widely circulated newspaper, one with a long history of associating migrants and crime. "I hope" to "contribute to making this anniversary a moment of rediscovered national harmony, in which the celebration of our regained freedom may help us understand and strengthen Italy's role in the world as an essential bastion of democracy." She "saw these reflections fully mature within the ranks of [her] own political side thirty years ago."

Back in 1993, thirty years earlier, corruption scandals had weakened the mainstream parties. Gianfranco Fini ran for mayor of Rome. Alessandra Mussolini, granddaughter of Benito Mussolini, ran for mayor of Naples. Both represented Meloni's party, the MSI. Both advanced to runoff elections, with Fini snagging 47 percent of the vote in his and Mussolini snagging 44 percent in hers. Both lost. But these were eye-popping vote totals when considering that the MSI had never secured even 10 percent in parliamentary elections. These vote totals—and the party's strength in southern Italy—caused the media magnate Silvio Berlusconi to turn to the MSI the very month that Gianfranco Fini announced the rebranding of the MSI as the Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance). It was January 1994. Berlusconi formed a coalition and a political party—Forza

Italia (Forward Italy)—to take on the favored Alleanza dei Progressisti (Alliance of Progressives) in the Italian general election in March.

If anybody could repackage fascism for Italian voters, Berlusconi could. He had founded Mediaset in 1978, which became the largest private broadcaster in Italy.

Berlusconi's coalition won the election in 1994. He became prime minister of the first Italian government sympathetic to Benito Mussolini since World War II. The Constitutional Arch, the parties that wrote Italy's postwar constitution and had held power ever since, had been usurped. Four days after the election, Gianfranco Fini, the leader of Meloni's party, the National Alliance, spoke to a journalist about Mussolini and Berlusconi in another Italian newspaper, *La Stampa*.

CHAPTER 92

Great Replacement of History

In that interview, Gianfranco Fini judged Mussolini to be "the greatest statesman of the century." Berlusconi "will have to make an extraordinary effort [to] be worthy of a place in history alongside Mussolini," the head of the National Alliance told *La Stampa.* Antifascist Italians were incensed. They channeled that fury into vast demonstrations on Liberation Day in 1994. Berlusconi stayed home. He claimed the "left" had commandeered the celebrations. Like Meloni in her letter thirty years later, Berlusconi preferred dividing the country into a left-right binary rather than a fascist-antifascist binary.

Berlusconi gave his opening speech to the Chamber of Deputies on May 16, 1994. He spoke about the defeat of "fascism in Europe." Ten days later, he told *The Washington Post* that he agreed with Fini, Meloni's boss: Mussolini *was* "a great statesman." Before "tak[ing] away liberties" and leading "the country into war…for a while, Mussolini did some good things here, and that's something that history says is correct." Nine years later, Berlusconi claimed Mussolini, who had murdered thousands of political opponents, "never killed anyone"—just sent some opponents "on holiday in exile." Berlusconi rewrote fascism "as a somewhat benevolent and philanthropic dictatorship," to use historian Matteo Pasetti's words.

Which is precisely how great replacement politicians project their actual or aspiring dictatorships in the twenty-first century.

The National Alliance's electoral prominence faded after Berlusconi's coalition lost in the 1996 Italian general election. That year, the party's new national youth leader spoke to a French reporter. "For me, Mussolini was a good politician," a nineteen-year-old Meloni said. "Everything he did, he did for Italy, and that is something that is not found in the politicians we have had in the last fifty years."

Berlusconi's coalition, including the National Alliance, reassembled in time for the 2001 elections. The coalition won. Berlusconi served as prime minister until 2006. Italian voters elected the twenty-nine-year-old Meloni to the Chamber of Deputies that year.

Two years later, Meloni joined the third Berlusconi government, serving from 2008 to 2011 as the Italian minister of youth. In 2012, she helped form Brothers of Italy, a rebranding of the National Alliance. This young woman assumed the presidency of Brothers of Italy in 2014.

On October 6, 2016, Meloni raged about Italians leaving the nation and immigrants coming, "the vast majority of them African men." These were "dress rehearsals for ethnic substitution"—another phrase Renaud Camus used to describe the "great replacement."

At a political rally in January 2017, Meloni positioned "big capital" as herding in immigrants "for low-cost labor, slaves." She again specified, "It's called ethnic substitution." Later that year, Meloni expressed her thinking that "there is an ethnic substitution plan in Italy." She indicted the European Union as "an accomplice of the uncontrolled immigration and of the ethnic substitution project desired by big capital."

—

Meloni's 2023 letter to Italy's most widely read newspaper ends up being a crude rewriting of Italian history. She denies her party's heralding of Mussolini's greatness. "In fact, as any honest observer will acknowledge," Meloni writes, "the right-wing parties in parliament have declared their incompatibility with any nostalgia for fascism." A great replacement politician's mangling of the past to orchestrate distance from their own party's fascism, racism, or Nazism—or the mangling of the past to invert their political opponents as the real fascists, racists, or Nazis—can be termed the *great replacement of history*. Meloni is hardly alone. As philosopher Jason Stanley wrote, "Fascist leaders appeal to history to replace the actual historical record with a glorious mythic replacement that, in its specifics, can serve their political ends and their ultimate goal of replacing facts with power."

CHAPTER 93

White Man's Party

When in 2019 President Trump told four congresswomen of color to "go back" to where they "came from," House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy (among many others) denied that Trump's tweets were racist. "We are the party of Lincoln," McCarthy argued. Republicans have used this Lincoln branding to indict Democrats as the real racists. At a rally in a Seattle suburb in August 2016, Trump said, "The Republican Party is the party of Abraham Lincoln. Not bad. Not bad. It's also the party of freedom, equality, and opportunity." Trump declared, "It is the Democratic Party that is the party of slavery, the party of Jim Crow."

After the party's founding in 1828, early Democrats supported or accepted slavery and its expansion from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. They enacted laws that blocked freed Black people from remaining in enslaving states and from settling in Midwestern states. Many Democrats became Confederates who, after the Civil War, became Jim Crow segregationists.

But were the original Republicans the party of freedom, equality, and opportunity? Meet U.S. Senator Lyman Trumbull, the prototypical early Republican. He represented Illinois, like Lincoln, his close ally. "I want to have nothing to do either with the free negro or the slave negro. We, the Republican party, are the white

man's party," Trumbull said to huge applause at a mass meeting in Chicago in 1858. "We are for free white men."

Abolitionists like U.S. Senator Charles Sumner from Massachusetts helped found the Republican Party in 1854. But racist antislavery advocates of "free soil" dominated the early Republican Party. Free soil was soil free *of* Black people (and Native people and Asian people, enslaved or free). Soil free *for* White labor. As the *New-York Tribune*—the North's paper of record at the time—reported on October 15, 1856: "There are Republicans who are Abolitionists; there are others who anxiously desire and labor for the good of the slave; but there are many more whose main impulse is a desire to secure the new Territories for Free White Labor, with little or no regard for the interests of negroes, free or slave."

Early leaders of the Republican Party joined with Democrats in pressing for the removal of free Black people from the United States. "The North does not want a free negro population; the South will not have them," Senator Trumbull said. As president during the Civil War, Lincoln had the Republican-dominated Congress appropriate money for remigration. But his plans failed to materialize.

The existential difference between the early Republican and Democratic Parties revolved around "free soil" *outside* of the South. Early Democrats in the South wanted to expand slavery, and even the party's contingent in the North backed the policy of "popular sovereignty"—let the White settlers decide—which ultimately permitted its spread. Early Republicans wanted to contain slavery "where it exists," to use Lincoln's words.

Southern Democrats seceded after Lincoln's election, ultimately leading to the Civil War in 1861. Lincoln attempted to put down the "rebellion" only to save the Union. As the war dragged on, Lincoln realized the only way to save the Union was to end slavery. After Confederates rejected his offer to end the war if they pledged to

emancipate the enslaved (and receive compensation) *before* 1900, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. The proclamation allowed Black soldiers to join the Union Army and Navy. Even after African Americans became Union soldiers and sailors and helped turn the tide of the Civil War, Lincoln pursued his remigration plans to rid the nation of African Americans.

After the war, after Lincoln's assassination, Republicans like Trumbull switched efforts from containing enslaved African Americans in the South to containing free African Americans in the South, where more than 90 percent of them lived. These Republicans supported providing African Americans with some civil and voting rights in hopes these measures would keep them in the South. But by the 1870s, Republicans abandoned the political, legal, and military might it took to defend these rights from the resurgent Klan in hoods, robes, dresses, and suits. Republicans largely looked the other way when Southern Democrats instituted Jim Crow segregation—another containment structure—in the late nineteenth century. And Republicans welcomed segregationist Democrats fleeing their party after Democratic presidents began to support civil rights for Black Americans, beginning with Harry Truman in 1948. History shows that political parties keep their names as they change ideologies all the time. At the same time, there are political parties that have changed their names and largely kept their ideologies, like Meloni's Brothers of Italy and Le Pen's National Rally.

CHAPTER 94

Modern KKK

The Republican Party's great replacement of history has connected twenty-first-century Democrats to Jim Crow segregationists and Klansmen, while connecting twenty-first-century Republicans to abolitionists and civil rights activists.

"What gets lost is that the Republican Party has always been the party of civil rights and voting rights," said Senator Rand Paul, Republican from Kentucky. Senator Ted Cruz, Republican from Texas, asked his supporters to "look at the Dixiecrats, they were Democrats who imposed segregation, imposed Jim Crow laws, who founded the Klan." Congresswoman Marjorie Taylor Greene, Republican from Georgia, compared Black Lives Matter activists to the KKK. "And remember the Ku Klux Klan," she said. "The Democrat Party is the party of the Ku Klux Klan."

While campaigning in Iowa in August 2023, Republican presidential candidate Vivek Ramaswamy called me and Democratic Congresswoman Ayanna Pressley "modern grand wizards of the modern KKK." Ramaswamy audaciously uttered his statement in front of a backdrop that read "TRUTH."

The great replacement of history knows no bounds, as Italian readers of history notice in Meloni's Liberation Day letter to the editor.

—

"April 25, 1945, clearly marks a watershed for Italy: the end of the Second World War, of Nazi occupation, of twenty years of fascist rule, of anti-Jewish persecution, of the bombings and the many other losses and hardships that long plagued our national community," Meloni writes in her letter.

Back then, Mussolini believed that "ethnic substitution"—to use Meloni's term—had long plagued Italy's national community. "The whole white race may be submerged by the colored races which multiply with a rhythm unknown to ours," Mussolini wrote in the fascist monthly *Gerarchia* in 1928. "While, for instance, the whites in the United States have a pitiable birth rate…the negroes are extremely prolific. Already they reach the imposing total of 14,000,000 souls, or one-sixth of the total population of the United States. There is a great quarter in New York called Harlem populated exclusively by colored people." At the same time, "China has 400,000,000 inhabitants." The "alarm" is already "sounding and all who can see further ahead than tomorrow…are worried" about the great replacement of White people.

By the late 1930s, fascist Italy had instituted a series of antisemitic policies at home and racist policies in its East African colonies, including barring interracial marriage and extramarital sex (and thereby interracial reproduction). Mussolini positioned Jews and Africans as the great replacers of Italy's "Aryan race." He positioned his dictatorship as the protector of Italians.

Mussolini justified Italy's racist and antisemitic policies at home and in the African colonies using the "Manifesto of Racial Scientists." Drafted by the young anthropologist Guido Landra, heavily edited by Mussolini, and positively reviewed by handpicked Italian scholars, the manifesto first appeared in the newspaper *Giornale d'Italia* on July 14, 1938 (titled there "Il Fascismo e i problemi della razza," or "Fascism and the problems of race"). The manifesto

contended, "*The concept of race is purely biological*" and "*the Jews do not belong to the Italian race.*" From there, this manifesto could read as the manifestos of great replacement parties in the twenty-first century with, of course, some rhetorical renovations.

Mussolini: "*The population of Italy today is of Aryan origin and its civilization is Aryan.*" The renovation: the population of Europe today is of Christian origin; Europe has "Christian roots," to use a popular term of great replacement politicians. "If the extreme leftists manage to cut Christian roots out of Europe, it will never be Europe again and Western civilization will fall forever," said Branko Grims, a legislator from the Slovenian Democratic Party, in 2023.

Mussolini: "*The racial composition of today is the same as that of one thousand years ago: the forty-four million Italians of today come therefore in the absolute majority from families that have lived in Italy for a millennium.*" The renovation: "The population stock of France had experienced little variations in time between what is termed the Great Invasions…during the 6th and 7th centuries, and, at the other end of the timeline, the last decades of the 20th century," Camus wrote.

Mussolini: "*The purely European character of the Italians would be altered by racial mixing with any extra-European race which would bring a civilization different from the millennia-old Aryan civilization.*" The renovation: "We are willing to mix with one another, but we do not want to become peoples of mixed-race," Viktor Orbán said in a speech on July 23, 2022. He warned that "Islamic civilisation" was "constantly moving towards Europe" and "occupying and flooding the West."

Most twenty-first-century great replacement politicians diverge from Mussolini's manifesto when it states: "*It is time for the Italians to proclaim themselves openly racists.* All the work that up until now the [fascist] regime has done in Italy is founded on racist principles." Camus, however, would not diverge on this point. Camus defined *racism* as "the doctrine of people who love races, all of

them, and pray for their equal preservation…but few people will have the courage to call themselves *racists* in the new sense I suggest."

They are more willing to do so privately. In June 2024, an undercover reporter secretly recorded videos of members of Gioventù Nazionale (National Youth), the youth division of Brothers of Italy. These Italian youth identified as fascists. They berated a Jewish Brothers of Italy politician with antisemitic comments and yelled the Nazi slogan "*Sieg Heil!*" Meloni orchestrated distance from these youth in a letter to her party faithful. She expressed that she was "angry and saddened." She said that there was "no room in Brothers of Italy for racism or antisemitism."

—

In her letter to the editor the year before, Meloni does all she can to cover up her party's renovation of Mussolini's "Manifesto of Racial Scientists." Mussolini's "extra-European race" bringing "a civilization different from the millennia-old Aryan civilization" is renovated to Meloni's "uncontrolled immigration" bringing "ethnic substitution."

CHAPTER 95

Liberal Democracy

In her April 2023 letter, Giorgia Meloni writes about the "patient negotiations" after Liberation Day in 1945 that were "aimed at defining the principles and rules for our emerging liberal democracy." Instead of noting that Mussolini's fascists—who founded her predecessor party—opposed "liberal democracy," Meloni notes that liberal democracy was "not unanimously desired by all members of the Resistance." Positioning some antifascists after World War II as anti-democracy encourages the belief that her antifascist opponents in the twenty-first century are anti-democracy.

In June 1946, before the founding of the Italian Social Movement, Italian voters elected a constituent assembly. Among the 556 legislators were 30 members of the Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque (Common Man's Front), a short-lived party with fascist ties. When it dissolved, many of its members joined the MSI.

With their tiny contingent in parliament, the Common Man's Front did not play a role in authoring Italy's constitution. The authors, known as the Constitutional Arch, comprised the Christian Democracy party, the Italian Communist Party, the Italian Socialist Party, the Italian Democratic Socialist Party, the Italian Liberal Party, and the Italian Republican Party. The constitution of Italy, which went into effect in 1948, banned the resurrection of Mussolini's National Fascist Party "under any form whatsoever" and placed

"temporary limitations to the right to vote and eligibility for the leaders responsible for the Fascist regime." All to say, the constitution of Italy and its authors separated fascists from antifascists, and excluded fascists.

Meloni great-replaces this history as effectively as any American Republican. She describes Italy's constitution, in her letter, as "a text that set out to unite and not to divide, as Professor Galli della Loggia pointed out well in this newspaper a few days ago."

—

Ernesto Galli della Loggia is a retired professor of history from the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa and a columnist for *Corriere della Sera.* In a column on April 11, 2023, Galli della Loggia chronicled how the writers of the Italian constitution allowed former fascist leaders to run for office by 1953. He speculated that they included this stipulation because "in time—they rather hoped—democracy would take care of putting things right: as in fact essentially happened." He framed fascism as being unable to grow in a democracy. It's like saying weeds can't grow in a bed of plants. It's like saying Mussolini's fascism did not grow in Italy's democracy.

Galli della Loggia seemed to have a singular goal: preventing Italians from connecting Mussolini to Meloni. Because readers might connect Galli della Loggia himself to the history of fascism.

Galli della Loggia used his column to "admit that, yes, fascism also did some good things" and to promote great replacement theory. On April 25, 2023, the very day Meloni published her letter to the editor, Galli della Loggia grieved in *Corriere della Sera* about the "de-Christianization" of Europe. Like Mussolini, he lamented low birth rates among Italian Christians. He wondered "how many ties with our cultural past, with our deepest emotional being, are being severed." When did Europe's cultural past begin for Galli della Loggia? In the fourth century, when Christianity began to take hold?

Should Europeans wipe out 44,000 years of their cultural history before that? Should Europeans sever from memory the deep emotional connections they had for their gods and deities like Roma, before the Christian missionaries and soldiers arrived at their villages?

The Pew Research Center projected Europe to have 454 million Christians and 71 million Muslims by 2050. Pew researchers estimated that the number of Europe's Christians will decline between now and 2050, with the Muslim population projected to increase. Pew projected that the Christian share of Europe's population will decrease from 67 percent in 2020 to 65 percent in 2050. Galli della Loggia gave a zero-sum explanation for this demographic trend: the "increasingly probable prevalence in the near future of faiths other than the Christian one."

And yet the percentage of Christians is not projected to decline solely because the percentage of other faiths, like Islam, is projected to increase. Another cultural shift is under way that Galli della Loggia and other great replacement theorists prefer not to name. Europe's religiously unaffiliated population is projected to increase by roughly 16 percent between 2010 (140 million) and 2050 (162 million). "Over the coming decades, Christians are expected to experience the largest net losses from switching," the Pew researchers found. "Globally, about 40 million people are projected to switch into Christianity, while 106 million are projected to leave, with most joining the ranks of the religiously unaffiliated." But the ongoing disaffiliation of Christians from religion doesn't fit the conspiracy theory that violent Muslims are replacing Christians. It doesn't drive people to vote for great replacement parties. Not like the sensational messages about a "crime wave" in 2020 and beyond.

CHAPTER 96

Antifa

After the police murder of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, great replacement politicians framed the wave of antiracist and antifascist demonstrations in the United States and around the world as "crime." At a small minority of these demonstrations, people broke the law, damaging or taking property. But more than 90 percent of the demonstrations were law-abiding and peaceful in the U.S. No violence usually meant no coverage on the nightly news.

Great replacement politicians around the world often termed the demonstrations, and especially any instances of violence, as having been initiated by "antifa," a term some of the demonstrators used to identify themselves. Short for "antifascist," the original German term Antifa comes from Antifaschistische Aktion (Antifascist Action), an initiative formally adopted by the German Communist Party in 1932 to militantly confront a militant Nazism. Nazi leaders—and their fascist counterparts in Italy—cast Antifa as terrorists long before great replacement politicians did the same.

No antifa organization existed in 2020 as it did in Germany in 1932. But that didn't stop Trump from tweeting, on May 31, 2020, "The United States of America will be designating ANTIFA as a Terrorist Organization." The next day, Alice Weidel from Germany praised Trump's designation: "Correct decision, which is also long

overdue in Germany and is demanded by the AfD faction!" That same day, Geert Wilders from the Netherlands posted, "Antifa hates freedom and the rule of law." He added, "They claim to be anti-racists and anti-fascists but truly they are the new fascists and racists of our time." Wilders criminalized an antiracist demonstration in his own nation: "Nice gang there in Amsterdam."

At the Republican National Convention on August 27, 2020, Trump described antiracist demonstrators as "mob rule" engaging in "rioting, looting, arson, and violence." By contrast, Trump billed "the Republican Party" as "the voice of the patriotic heroes who keep America safe." The next year, Marine Le Pen complained, "Across Europe, these pseudo 'antifa' are using violence against patriots and undermining democracy, with total judicial impunity and media complacency."

When the largely peaceful antiracist demonstrations subsided, and great replacement politicians could no longer tie demonstrators to crime, they returned to tying immigrants to crime. "No less than 4,000 crimes per year by asylum seekers," Geert Wilders posted on November 24, 2022—a false statement, of course. The ruling parties "are 100% responsible for letting this scum in."

On July 25, 2021, Tunisia's President Kais Saied assumed executive authority amid violent protests against his administration's mishandling of the pandemic—not to mention a devastated healthcare system, police brutality, mass unemployment, and corruption. In what political scientists termed a "self-coup," Saied suspended parliament and forced the prime minister to resign. He went on to rule by decree, dissolved the judiciary, arrested political opponents, and revised Tunisia's constitution to legalize his electoral dictatorship. An upsurge in Black immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa gave Saied the ability to manipulate Arab Tunisians into believing a "criminal plan" was at work "to change the demographic composition of Tunisia." The secret "goal of the successive waves of illegal immigration" is to

make “Tunisia a purely African country that has no affiliation to the Arab and Islamic nations,” he said in a speech to the Tunisian National Security Council in February 2023.

—

Great replacement politicians sensationalize individual cases of violence as signifying the criminality of immigrants of color. In February 2022, José Antonio Kast shared a picture of a blanket covering a body near a railroad in northern Chile. “A truck driver was assaulted, beaten and thrown by two immigrants from a bridge in Antofagasta,” Kast posted. On November 10, 2023, Alice Weidel shared the story of a mother picking up her child from school at lunchtime, only to be “raped by two ‘Arabic-speaking’ men” as “the government…simply looks the other way.” In February 2024, twenty-two-year-old Laken Riley, a nursing student at Augusta University in Georgia, was dragged during a morning run to a secluded area and murdered. Authorities arrested José Antonio Ibarra, a Venezuela-born undocumented immigrant, and charged him with murder. Out of the 16,256 homicides in the United States that year, the overwhelming majority of which were committed by American citizens, this one caught the attention of Trump. He called Ibarra “an animal” and blamed “Crooked Joe Biden’s Border INVASION” for “killing our citizens!”

Two words—“migrant crime”—summed up Trump’s successful presidential campaign message in 2024. “The greatest invasion in history is taking place right here in our country,” Trump said, officially kicking off his campaign in July at the Republican National Convention. They are coming from foreign “prisons” or “jails” or “insane asylums,” Trump said. “Our crime rate is going up, while crime statistics all over the world are going down. Because they’re taking their criminals and they’re putting them into our country.”

FBI data reported in September 2024 that "violent crime" fell from 2022 to 2023. Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter fell by 11.6 percent, "the largest single year decline" in twenty years. Rates of rape fell about 9.4 percent. In the third quarter of 2023, "property crime" dropped to 6.3 percent, the lowest rate since 1961. Trump ignored the FBI data. He ignored falling crime rates again in 2025, when he sent troops to restore "order" in Los Angeles; Washington, D.C.; Memphis; Chicago; and Portland, Oregon—all Democrat-led cities, four led by Black mayors. Trump can ignore falling crime rates because most Americans ignore falling crime rates. In November 2023, more than three-fourths of American respondents told Gallup pollsters that there was more "crime" in 2023 than in 2022.

Social media (and word of mouth) can distort reality. "My neighbors never post on NextDoor how many thousands of packages they successfully receive, only video of the one that randomly got swiped," criminologist Jeff Asher explained. "These outlier incidents become the glue people rely on when guesstimating whether crime is up or down." And when people perceive crime to be up in the United States, the Democratic Party, mimicking their Republican peers, often responds with tougher rhetoric and policies. They are "worried about appearing out of touch if they deny their constituents' distorted reality," journalist Abdallah Fayyad reported.

Great replacement politicians mold public perception of pressing problems—and then blame their political opponents for creating those problems—to present themselves as the only political solution. In her Liberation Day letter to the editor, Giorgia Meloni presents Brothers of Italy as the only political solution in Italy.

CHAPTER 97

Custodians of Fascism

In her letter to the editor, Meloni writes that the framers of Italy's constitution "entrusted the very strength of democracy…with the task of including" those fascists who were "defeated" on Liberation Day. It was these fascists—although she doesn't identify them as such—who "were excluded from the constitutional process for obvious historical reasons" but who went on to shape "the democratic right wing." This "family," Meloni writes, "has been able to expand over the years" to include in its ranks Catholics and liberals "who had opposed the fascist regime."

"This is how a great democracy was born, solid, mature and strong despite its many contradictions," Meloni continues. "A democracy in which no one would be willing to give up the freedoms earned." These freedoms, as Pierre Poilievre and his truckers had been saying in Canada, were "the only true antidote to any risk of authoritarianism," Meloni writes. "Hence I cannot understand why, in Italy, precisely among those who consider themselves to be the 'custodians' of this achievement, there are some who, at the same time, deny its effectiveness, narrating a kind of imaginary division between fully democratic Italians and others (presumably the majority judging by the election results), who apparently, despite not declaring it, secretly dream of a return to that past lack of freedoms."

It is a not-so-subtle assertion that Brothers of Italy are the true custodians of democracy in Italy, standing in the legacy of the Liberation Day fighters for freedom.

Other great replacement politicians have been less subtle. At a campaign rally in 2017, MP Marion Maréchal, Marine Le Pen's niece, presented her aunt as the political descendant of French World War I soldiers, who, she dreamt, defended against the great replacement. "Fathers, uncles, brothers went to sacrifice themselves so that France would stay French," Maréchal narrated. "If, a century later, we fail to ensure that France remains French, it will mean that their sacrifices were in vain…. Vote for Marine Le Pen."

Marie-Solange Werner, a municipal councilperson for the National Front in Sens, attended the rally and reminisced to a reporter about her grandfather, who fought in both world wars. "He was an extraordinary patriot," Werner said. "The Germans tried to enlist him, but he was a true Frenchman and put his life on the line for France. With a family history like that, how…could I not be in the Front National?" The better question might be, with a family history like that, with the National Front apologizing for Nazi collaborators, with the National Front a renovated version of the Nazism her grandfather fought against, how could she betray her grandfather and support the National Front?

Perhaps the most offensive example of the great replacement of history is found in Germany. The neo-Nazi Af D used the famous anti-Nazi martyr Sophie Scholl in political messaging. Nazis executed the twenty-one-year-old Scholl for leading the anti-Nazi group the White Rose at the University of Munich. In 2017, a Facebook post by a regional Af D chapter declared, "Sophie Scholl would have voted Af D." It was as absurd as saying Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. would have supported Donald Trump. (Well, Trump supporters in Iowa said that too, on Martin Luther King Day in 2024.)

It was as absurd as great replacement theorists identifying as part of "the tradition of all anti-colonial struggles," as Renaud Camus expressed in a 2017 speech. He listed the Algerian revolution against France as a possible model, and the renowned decolonial intellectual Frantz Fanon as an inspiration. "Algeria, having become independent, considered that it would not be truly independent without the departure of the settlers," Camus said. "I also believe that there will be no liberation of the territory without the departure of the occupier or colonization, that is to say without remigration."

In *You Will Not Replace Us!* Camus argued that "the African colonisation of Europe is worse and more severe than European colonisation of Africa as it involves *demographic change,* and because it proceeds by massive transfers of population whose aim is to settle down in the target continent." Camus great-replaced from the historical record the effects of Europe's colonization of Africa. The human and natural resource extraction of colonizers made Europe the richest continent in the world and Africa the poorest continent in the world by the twentieth century.

About ten million people were murdered by agents of the natural-resource-extracting "Congo Free State," the personal colony of Belgium's King Leopold II from 1885 to 1908. After Herero and Nama people resisted German colonial stealing of their cattle and land in present-day Namibia in 1904, German commander Lothar von Trotha called for the extermination of these African people—approximately 75,000 people perished—while encouraging German settlers to come. In response to the Maji Maji Rebellion (1905–7) against German colonizers forcing them to cultivate cotton, upwards of 300,000 people in present-day Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi died in battles or battling hunger. In 1937, Italian troops massacred upward of 20,000 Ethiopian civilians in *three days,* in retaliation for a failed grenade attack on Mussolini's colonial governor.

Before European colonizers focused on extracting Africa's natural resources, they primarily extracted human beings from the continent. Europe's colonization of Africa began in the fifteenth century, with the Portuguese building the first of many European coastal forts, initially to protect newly extracted gold from other Europeans and then to satisfy the lucrative transatlantic human trade, which lasted four hundred years. Historian Steven Mintz has estimated that human traders killed or transferred roughly the current population of France—sixty million people—a tally that includes the smaller Islamic human trade across the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Sahara Desert. This tally includes the people who died in wars and kidnapping raids instigated by human traders demanding a regular supply of young adults. The tally includes the death marches to supply these human traders on the coast. The tally includes the deathly waits in the castles and boats on the coasts. The tally includes the nearly 2 million who died inside the floating prisons crossing the Atlantic, and 10.7 million Africans who arrived in the Americas. Historian Patrick Manning estimates that Africa's population would have been *double* its size in 1850, if not for all the extractive human trading of the previous four centuries, largely executed by European colonizers of Africa's western coast.

And yet, to read Camus is to be told Europe's colonization of Africa did not involve "demographic change."

Britain ended human trading under a Whig government in 1807, after twenty years of activism in Parliament for its abolition. Nonetheless, in 2015, Tory George Osborne, a senior member of the British cabinet, claimed that the Conservative Party was responsible for this historical feat. His statement was in itself a feat of historical replacement. In 2019, James Cleverly transfigured the legendary William Wilberforce, who challenged slavery as an independent MP from 1780 to 1825, into a Tory. Cleverly, a Black Tory MP who succeeded Suella Braverman as home secretary in 2023, refused to apologize or retract his great replacement of history.

Giorgia Meloni refuses to apologize or retract her ahistorical statements on Liberation Day 2023.

CHAPTER 98

Scientism

In the lead-up to Liberation Day 2023, Meloni suspects that antifascist Italians do not want her participating in the wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. She suspects that antifascist Italians do not believe the ideological and organizational descendants of the Italian Social Republic should take part in the annual celebration of Italy's liberation from the Italian Social Republic. Meloni pushes back in her letter to the editor, on "the objective of those who, in preparation for this anniversary and its ceremonies, draw up a list of who can and cannot take part, based on 'points' that have nothing to do with history but a lot to do with politics."

In their inversion of antiracism, great replacement theorists have made the descriptive term *racist* into a slur, into an attack term, into a weapon to delegitimize someone or shut down discussions. Meloni does the same in her inversion of antifascism. These people are "using the category of fascism as a way to delegitimize any political opponent," Meloni writes, "a kind of weapon of mass exclusion, as Augusto Del Noce taught us."

In 1970, Italian philosopher Augusto Del Noce lamented the "surrender of religion to science," or what he called "the 'totalitarian' conception of science, in which science is regarded as the 'only' true form of knowledge." To Del Noce—and Camus—it is totalitarian for

human beings to desire evidence and verifiability in order to distinguish between fact and fiction. To Del Noce, science is an engine of the replacement. "This could be how the 'sunset of the West' will take place," he wrote.

Conspiracy theorists—those sworn enemies of scientists and scholars—blend fictions and facts together to the point neither is recognizable. Meloni favors Del Noce's philosophy because it has cleared the way for Italians to believe her fictions.

—

A prime example: in 2019 Meloni co-authored a book titled *Mafia nigeriana: Origini, rituali, crimini—Nigerian Mafia: Origins, Rituals, Crimes*. The book opened with the allegation that Italian police were being regularly "attacked by the young Nigerians who populate our regions. Barely in their twenties, tall as giants, weighing between 90 and 120 kilos [198 to 265 pounds], admittedly well-fed and in shape thanks to the gym, they cost the State more than 100 euros a day." And since they are "Nigerian asylum seekers," when arrested they are released, enjoying the "privileges" of "a nobility above the law. In a kind of reverse racism, for Italians, the law exists, while for asylum seekers, anything goes."

All of this fiction served for readers as a veiled reference to the true story of a Nigerian drug dealer named Innocent Oseghale. He was convicted of murdering, raping, and dismembering an eighteen-year-old White Italian woman named Pamela Mastropietro on January 30, 2018, in Macerata, Italy. Oseghale denied raping and killing Mastropietro. According to him, she died of an overdose. Two other Nigerian men were arrested and charged with Mastropietro's murder and dismemberment (their charges were dropped).

After the police arrested Oseghale, many racist White Italians were furious. Not merely with Oseghale but with all African

immigrants. Fascist Facebook pages coalesced around the rallying cry: "Shoot the beasts on sight."

The leader of Italy's most popular great replacement party in January 2018 hardly tamped down on the fury. "What was this worm still doing in Italy?" Matteo Salvini asked. "He wasn't fleeing a war. He brought the war to Italy. The left has its hands dirty with blood. Another state killing."

Salvini led the Lega party. Originally Lega Nord, or Northern League, it was founded by Umberto Bossi in 1991 with the express purpose of leading northern Italy to secede and become the independent state of "Padania." Bossi cast Italy's north as lily White and civilized in contrast to Italy's multiracial and uncivilized south, and shunned those migrating north from the south. Lega Nord was the third party that formed Berlusconi's original coalition in 1994. When Matteo Salvini took over the party in 2013, he transformed the regional party into a national party by promoting great replacement theory. "There is an ongoing attempt at genocide of the populations that have inhabited Italy for a few centuries and that someone would like to replace with tens of thousands of people arriving from other parts of the world," Salvini said in 2015. West Africa became the new "south" that a unified Italy needed to wall itself off from. In 2017, the new national party Lega was formed with the aim of electing Salvini as premier.

One of Salvini's most rabid political admirers was a twenty-eight-year-old White Italian man named Luca Traini. He lost a race for town council on the Lega Nord ticket in 2017. Maybe because he showed up to campaign events with a Nazi tattoo on his forehead. Maybe because he openly talked about reading Hitler's *Mein Kampf.*

In any case, Traini called Salvini his "captain." He did not blame Pamela Mastropietro's death on Oseghale. Like his military captain, Traini blamed an entire population and went to war.

CHAPTER 99

Basic Math

On February 3, 2018, days after Oseghale's arrest, Luca Traini decided to get "justice for Pamela." He grabbed his semiautomatic pistol and climbed into his black Alfa Romeo 147. For two hours, he drove in search of African immigrants on the streets of Macerata. He opened fire whenever he saw an African immigrant. He aimed to "kill them all."

His drive-by shootings seriously wounded, but did not kill, six immigrants from Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, and Mali. After feeling as if he got enough "justice," Traini drove to Macerata's memorial to its war dead. He wrapped an Italian flag on his shoulders, like a true patriot. He mounted the steps to the monument. At the summit, he thrust up his arm proudly in a fascist salute before being arrested.

Traini hardly stood alone. A 2019 poll found that a majority of Italian respondents stated racist actions were occasionally or at all times "justifiable." Forza Nuova (New Force), an openly fascist political party in Italy, applauded Traini. It pledged to pay his legal costs. While police were questioning Traini, about twenty-five skinheads beat up four North Africans in Pavia.

Brenton Tarrant inscribed Traini's name on a magazine for his weapon before murdering fifty-one Muslims in New Zealand a year later. In his manifesto, Tarrant listed Traini as one of the

“partisans/freedom fighters/ethno soldiers” who had taken “a stand against ethnic and cultural genocide.”

—

A similar instance of retaliatory political violence swept across the UK six years later. On July 29, 2024, seventeen-year-old Axel Rudakubana stabbed and killed three White girls (aged six, seven, and nine) and injured eight more children and two adults. The carnage happened at a dance class in Southport, England. Police arrested Rudakubana at the scene. Misinformation quickly spread online that Rudakubana was a Muslim immigrant. In fact, he was born in Wales to parents who had migrated to the UK from Rwanda after the 1994 genocide.

A group of White men marauded in the streets of Southport. They tossed bricks and Molotov cocktails at a local mosque. Violent demonstrations gripped the streets of Manchester, Hartlepool, Liverpool, Bristol, London, and Belfast. Demonstrators arrived outside the British prime minister’s residence in London on July 31, 2024. Signs blared: “ENOUGH IS ENOUGH: STOP THE BOATS.” On August 4, about seven hundred demonstrators closed in on a Holiday Inn Express that provided shelter to asylum seekers in Rotherham. The demonstrators chanted, “Get them out!” They broke windows. They set a stairwell inside the hotel and outdoor trash bins on fire. They tossed a flaming bin at the hotel.

Nigel Farage orchestrated distance from the violence while inciting the rage. Farage tweeted a video of mostly Black young men running. “Our country is being destroyed, our values trashed and the public on the point of revolt,” he posted the night after the mass stabbing, while days later expressing his opposition to “all acts of political violence.”

—

After Luca Traini's drive-by shootings, Meloni too orchestrated distance. "The one that starts shooting at innocent people is not my Italy," she said on Italian television. Meloni did not attend the antiracist demonstration of roughly 15,000 people in Macerata on February 10, 2018. Today "in Macerata the march is against racism, not against Nigerian drug dealers," Meloni complained. "You are ridiculous!"

All this happened during the final straightaway of the 2018 Italian general election, held on March 4. Salvini's Lega led in the polls, steering a reconfiguration of Berlusconi's old coalition. Lega campaigned on sealing the borders and remigrating 150,000 immigrants. One of its candidates was Attilio Fontana, who was running for president of Lombardy, Italy's most populous region. Fontana announced Italy could not accept all immigrants. This "isn't a question of being xenophobic or racist, but a question of being logical or rational," Fontana said. "We must decide…if our white race, if our society must continue to exist or if it must be canceled out." Salvini defended Fontana's remarks, stating, "An invasion is underway." Fontana won his election.

Between 2014 and 2022, Italy received about 600,000 immigrants, primarily from Africa. This represented about 1 percent of Italy's population of roughly sixty million people, hardly enough to invade or replace.

In 1933, Jews comprised about 1.7 percent of Europe's population. But the demographic scarcity of Jews did not stop Hitler and Mussolini from casting Jews as a colossal "foreign" danger striving to conquer and replace Europeans. The numerical facts did not stop Salvini's party from casting the 1 percent of African immigrants as a colossal "foreign" danger striving to invade and replace White Italians. It's like a Black immigrant enrolling in a school of ninety-nine students and a politician proclaiming the Black student represents an invasion from another country. It's like people in that town believing the single Black student is replacing the

ninety-nine students. It's like the politician chaining the rage of the people to build an electoral dictatorship to protect them from the invasion…by a single Black immigrant. An allegory for the authoritarian age.

In 2018, Salvini's Lega ran on protecting White Italians from immigration and violence. Italy's homicide rate was, in 2018, the fourth lowest in the European Union, and it was trending downward. Nearly all murdered Italian citizens were killed by other Italian citizens. As an example, in 2022, 92.7 percent of Italian murder victims were killed by Italians. And the proportion of domestic homicides to overall homicides of women significantly shot *up* between 2012 and 2021. Salvini's Lega and Meloni's Brothers of Italy ignored the actual crisis of White Italian men battering White Italian women who are their relatives or current or former partners.

Just as Renaud Camus ignored the genocidal and impoverishing history of Europe's colonization of Africa. Camus attempted to substantiate his great replacement of history by arguing that African people in the twenty-first century had a positive recollection of European colonization. They "express it with their feet" through immigrating to Europe, Camus wrote in 2018—another contention that does not hold up to basic math.

In 2020, there were 11 million African-born migrants living in a Europe of 750 million people. These migrants represented about 1.5 percent of Europe's population. And if Africans were showing their "real" positive "opinion" about "French and European colonisation," to quote Camus, if they were running "to France and to Europe to settle down as soon as they think an opportunity turns up," then those 11 million Africans should represent a sizable number *of Africans.* But they do not. In 2020, there were nearly 1.4 *billion* people in Africa. Those 11 million African-born migrants to Europe represented less than 1 percent of Africa's total population. Why didn't hundreds of millions of Africans run to Europe and apply for asylum when an opportunity arose in 2015?

The top destination for African migrants is…*Africa.* Which runs counter to Camus's assertion that "what made Europe so desirable" for African migrants "was the simple fact that they were not there." The overwhelming majority of African migrants do not desire to go where African people are not. Only about *a quarter* of African migrants live in Europe. Camus projected his *own* racist ideas about wanting to live where Africans are *not* onto African migrants.

Great replacement theory is not meant to make numerical sense. It is meant to make emotional sense. It is meant to inflame people. Inflame people to the polls. Inflame people to give up their civil liberties. Inflame people to terror. And then great replacement politicians brazenly use great replacement soldiers and their terror attacks to drive *more* electoral support. As Salvini did in 2018.

CHAPTER 100

Eating Cats

Matteo Salvini used Traini's drive-by shootings of African immigrants to advance his 2018 campaign's equation of immigration with crime. "Violence is never the solution," Salvini posted. "Out-of-control immigration leads to chaos, anger and social conflict. Out-of-control immigration leads to drug dealing, theft, robberies and violence."

Salvini's great replacement theory worked on voters. Lega won the third-most votes in the 2018 elections, more votes than Berlusconi's Forward Italy and Meloni's Brothers of Italy. Their coalition won the most seats, though not a majority. Salvini became Italy's interior minister and one of two deputy prime ministers in a new governing coalition (which Lega withdrew from in fall 2019). In the 2019 European Parliament elections, Lega won the most seats from Italy. That was how Salvini ended up organizing Europe's great replacement parties into the Identity and Democracy group that year.

—

Meloni learned from Salvini that linking immigration to crime was a winning formula. In her 2019 book, Meloni argued that the "Nigerian mafia" was the organizational link between immigration and crime

in Italy. Meloni and her two co-authors warned, "Migrationism is financed today by someone who wants to change European ethnicity to create a Eurafrica or a Eurasia." They argued that "the definition of wild man…as a degraded and cursed being…seems to fit well with Nigerian mafia criminals."

The authors warned of the certain "risk of ethnic substitution, as we live in a world where the Islamic world (or at least part of it) has five children per couple, not to mention polygamy, while the Italian world has less than one child per couple. This can only make us reflect on the future of our nation, our identity, and our way of life."

Meloni and her co-authors did not provide evidence that the "Nigerian mafia" facilitated African immigration, let alone violent crime in Italy, let alone "ethnic substitution." The authors did not provide evidence that "Nigerian mafia criminals" engaged in "human sacrifices" during their long voyages to Italy "in exchange for good weather and calm seas." Why would they? Readers demanding evidence, in Del Noce's terms, are "totalitarian." Dismissing arguments devoid of evidence is "a kind of weapon of mass exclusion," to use Meloni's terms.

Notwithstanding Meloni's thesis on the "Nigerian mafia," homicides of Italians by African immigrants (or any immigrants) were nearly nonexistent. So Meloni scavenged whatever individual cases she could find to equate immigration with violence. On June 30, 2020, Meloni posted a viral video depicting a White woman berating a Black male who was cooking an animal on a public street. "An immigrant cooks a poor kitten as if it were nothing, amidst screams and the (understandable) anger of a lady who scolds him," Meloni wrote in her caption. "Zero tolerance for this criminal: these barbarities are not allowed in Italy!"

—

In the United States, Republicans replicated this storyline. It began in early September 2024, at the tail end of Trump's third presidential campaign as a Republican. Someone in Springfield, Ohio, posted on Facebook: "Warning to all about our beloved pets and those around us. My neighbor informed me that her daughter's friend had lost her cat…. One day…she looked toward a neighbor's house where Haitians live and saw her cat hanging from a branch, like you'd hang a deer for butchering, and they were carving it up to eat. I've been told they're also doing this to dogs and at Snyder Park with ducks and geese." The post circulated a bogus rumor. The Springfield Police emailed NBC News a statement: "We wish to clarify that there have been no credible reports or specific claims of pets being harmed, injured or abused by individuals within the immigrant community." The author of the Facebook post expressed regret. "My whole family is biracial," she said in proximity denial. "I never wanted to cause problems for anyone."

But the bogus rumors of Haitian immigrants eating cats spread the way only bogus rumors can. Soon people used AI to produce images of Black men hunting Trump as he cradled a cat. "President Trump will deport migrants who eat pets," a Trump campaign account posted on X on September 9, 2024. "Kamala Harris will send them to your town next. Make your choice, America." With Ohio being his home state, no one spread the rumor more aggressively than U.S. Senator and Trump's vice presidential candidate, JD Vance.

While great replacement soldiers terrorized Haitians in Springfield, vandalizing their property and calling in bomb threats, Trump held a rally in Tucson, Arizona, on September 12. He referenced Springfield but walked rhetorically in Meloni's lane during her 2022 election campaign: "I'm angry about young American girls being raped and sodomized and murdered by savage criminal aliens," Trump said.

CHAPTER 101

Present Divisions

During the 2022 parliamentary election, Meloni presented the distorted reality of what Trump termed "migrant crime." She went after the 39.9 percent of Italians surveyed in 2021 who reported being "certain of the danger of ethnic substitution: national identity and culture will disappear due to the arrival of immigrants, bearers of a dynamic demography compared to Italians who no longer have children, and all this happens for the interest and will of supposedly opaque globalist elites." Meloni pledged to impose a naval blockade in the Mediterranean Sea. Taking a page from Australia and England, she planned to "stop the boats" from North Africa. The solution proved as illusory as Trump's border wall.

What mattered to Meloni was her party securing the most votes and seats in the 2022 elections. When she became Italy's first female prime minister that year, Meloni appointed Salvini as her deputy prime minister. His party received half the share of votes it had won in the previous general election, with former Lega voters casting the most votes for Brothers of Italy.

—

Meloni joined Viktor Orbán in being a head of government exercising the now well-developed body of great replacement

theory. Orbán had almost no chance of losing reelection in Hungary in 2022. But the prime minister left nothing to chance. Orbán's administration had forced Hungarians to provide their personal data on a government-run website in order to receive the COVID vaccine. During the 2022 election campaign, Orbán's agents then used that data to microtarget campaign messages. Orbán won handily.

Benjamin Netanyahu became prime minister of Israel for the third time after his Likud (Consolidation) party won the most seats in the 2022 Israeli legislative election. Netanyahu formed a governing majority with a coalition of great replacement parties, including the Religious Zionism and Jewish Power parties. In Brazil, even though Jair Bolsonaro lost the 2022 presidential election, his Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) won more seats than any other party in both houses of the National Congress.

Other great replacement parties boosted their power share to unprecedented levels during elections in 2022. Bulgaria's Revival campaigned on pro-Russia propaganda and on the promise of lifting COVID-19 restrictions in snap elections that year. It won twenty-seven seats, more than doubling its 2021 total. Japan's new Sanseitō party campaigned against mask and vaccine mandates and immigration. Sohei Kamiya, then its vice president, won the party's first-ever seat in the House of Councillors. He had edited and published a booklet that accused "Jewish international finance capital" of exaggerating "fears about the coronavirus pandemic" to garner "enormous profits." He argued "Jewish international finance capital" also "effectively controls Western society and has been targeting Japan for hundreds of years." Since his party secured more than 2 percent of the vote with this conspiracy theory, it passed the threshold to officially become a political party in Japan.

In Portugal's 2022 parliamentary elections, Chega finished third at 7.15 percent of the vote, after securing a mere 1.3 percent of the vote in 2019. The Sweden Democrats emerged from the 2022 parliamentary elections as the second-most-powerful party in

Sweden. The party agreed not to enter the ruling government, but only in exchange for getting its "hard-line" immigration policies through.

Le Pen's National Rally won "an elevenfold increase" in seats, from eight to eighty-nine, in the 2022 parliamentary elections. Maybe because a YouGov survey the previous year found that 39 percent of French people believed "their government's response to the virus has been too restrictive on personal freedoms," up 16 percentage points from 2020. For the first time since 1986, National Rally exceeded the fifteen-seat minimum to become a parliamentary group, resulting in increased public financing, more speaking time on the parliamentary floor, and other benefits. Le Pen handed over the presidency of National Rally to the twenty-seven-year-old Jordan Bardella, who believed "the African continent" represented "the demographic bomb." Le Pen again ran for president of France in 2022, finishing second in the first round and winning 41.5 percent of the vote in the runoff.

The 2022 election did not quite go as French novelist Michel Houellebecq depicted in his number one bestseller, published on the day of the Charlie Hebdo terror attack in 2015. In *Soumission* (*Submission*), Le Pen loses the first round of voting in 2022 to Mohammed Ben Abbes, head of the "Muslim Brotherhood" party. French voters fear electing Le Pen, so they put Ben Abbes in power, as Houellebecq narrates. Ben Abbes proceeds to replace Christian culture with Muslim culture.

Le Pen promoted *Submission*. "What is very interesting about this book is that it is a fiction, but a fiction that could one day become reality," she said in 2015. Le Pen urged the French to respond to this supposed Muslim threat—a renovation of Nazi rhetoric. "We see in Jewry an immediate danger for every nation," Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels said on February 18, 1943. "Germany, in any case, does not intend to submit to this

threat but instead to oppose it in a timely manner and if necessary with the most radical countermeasures."

In reality, Emmanuel Macron won the 2022 French presidential election. He did not impose sharia law on France, like the Muslim leader who defeats Le Pen in *Submission.* Le Pen's popularity continued to grow.

—

Meloni called for the abolition of Liberation Day in 2018. But five years later, she ends her letter to the editor clarifying the purpose she wants the holiday to serve. Not an annual spring cleaning of the legacy of Mussolini's fascists, which was precisely what Italians did on April 25, 1945. To Meloni, that kind of political work would be "divisive."

In her Liberation Day letter in 2023, Meloni envisions a "Freedom Day" to "overcome past divisions." She wants the day to celebrate all "patriots" or "all Italians who put the love for their homeland before any ideological contrast."

The next link in the chain of ideas: what self-identified patriots who love their homeland are told they must be willing to do.

LINK 9

Insurrections against democracy protect the nation.

//

Nayib Bukele

El Salvador

CHAPTER 102

Shithole

A speaking platform is set up on the public street. Behind it is the main entrance for cars to enter the Legislative Assembly. The gate is closed. The back of the nation's glass-walled capitol looms.

A wooden podium sits on the speaking platform. It is emblazoned with a circular seal: "PRESIDENCIA DE LA REPÚBLICA." Six flags at the back of the platform stand side by side like soldiers.

Actual soldiers from the national army patrol nearby streets. Snipers look down from surrounding rooftops. They scan the 5,000 people gathered to see their president.

The people stand behind a steel barricade. They bunch together down two long fenced-in city streets. Where those streets intersect, the speaking platform projects. It is not as majestic as an altar to the fatherland. Today is not an annual holiday. Then again, the president did liken the day to a liberation day. Liberation from what, though?

Two years earlier, another president, Donald Trump, had described this nation of six million people as a "shithole." He portrayed El Salvador in much the same way Giorgia Meloni portrayed Nigeria, as a nation controlled by all-powerful transnational gangs, exporting murderers to the United States and Italy.

If great replacement politicians in the United States and Europe can enrage voters with a great replacement theory about gangs of "migrant criminals" being sent to harm them, then politicians in El Salvador enrage their own voters with similar talking points—minus, of course, the migrant. If an American president can wildly exaggerate the size and influence of those gangs of "migrant criminals" *from* El Salvador, then a Salvadoran president can wildly exaggerate the real problem of gang violence *in* El Salvador. Presidents in both countries can claim that their authoritarian practices protect the people from the murderous gangs that keep invading neighborhoods and homes. Presidents in both countries can put forward similar solutions: mass removal from particular neighborhoods—and into El Salvador's massive prison system. It was not a coincidence that the second Trump administration in 2025 started remigrating immigrants—almost all of whom had no record of violence—to a Salvadoran mega-prison, with plans to send U.S. citizens there too. It was not a coincidence that the presidents of the United States and El Salvador formed an alliance.

Great replacement theory has mutated from Camus's racist theory many times in different countries with different political settings. Intersectional mutations. Sexist, Islamophobic, ethnocentric, transphobic, and homophobic mutations. But the mutation in El Salvador, while seemingly the furthest from the original, may actually be closest to Camus's great replacement theory. As Trump and Meloni did after him, Camus described "the replacers" as an *organized* band of violent criminals, organized by elite "replacists." What is an organized band of criminals? A gang. In Camus's imaginary, gangs of "replacers" are overrunning society. "There is no living together but permanent aggressiveness and repeated aggressions, violence, recurring massacres, terrorist acts, series of minor offenses and large-scale attacks," Camus wrote. In Europe, Camus believes the innocence of White people is no more. It has been replaced with eternal carnage. Replaced with

innocence's opposite, what Camus termed *nocence.* He founded the *In-nocence* Party in 2002.

If history is the best fortune teller, then the potential future of great replacement politics is to enrage more voters of color that *they* are being replaced in order to prop up more electoral dictatorships in the Global South (and Global North). This is already happening, most obviously in India, where Prime Minister Narendra Modi has portrayed Muslims as the replacers. But it is also happening, perhaps less obviously, in a new cradle of great replacement politics: El Salvador, where a president has applied the language of replacement to the country's gangs to justify his authoritarianism.

CHAPTER 103

Old Ideas

Those 5,000 people waiting on the street in San Salvador are waiting for Salvadoran President Nayib Bukele. He still has not arrived at the speaking platform. He is more than an hour late.

Bukele's supporters look like a contained mob, cordoned off by a small group of soldiers and police. The Legislative Assembly is cordoned off from the crowd by barbed-wire fencing.

A caravan of cars arrives. Anticipation rises. Bukele mounts the speaking platform. At last the thousands of people see their president. A dozen soldiers gather behind him. They take their positions in front of the flags, rifles drawn. They stare menacingly into the crowd like the nearby rooftop snipers.

—

"I promised during the campaign that if we had to march to the Legislative Assembly, we would march to the Legislative Assembly," President Bukele says on February 9, 2020.

"Today we are fulfilling that campaign promise." He motions to the back of the Legislative Assembly. "There is the Legislative Palace, where we will enter in a moment.

"Now, what happened to make us have to be here now? First of all, I want to ask you all a question. Think about whether you have

lost a loved one," Bukele says. "How much money would you pay for that loved one to be here with us again?"

Bukele says he needs money to prevent more people from dying at the hands of gangs. And "these criminals in the Legislative Assembly do not even want to approve money that does not belong to them!"

The audience shouts in unison: "Nayib! Nayib! Nayib!"

—

Bukele does not control the Legislative Assembly. Opposition legislators have been refusing to approve a $109 million bank loan for Bukele's administration. Bukele has called a special session of the Legislative Assembly for February 9, 2020, and urged "the Salvadoran people to come" today to restore "the constitutional order." This has prompted one opposition political party to condemn Bukele's "dictatorship."

In the days leading up to this showdown, dozens of soldiers and police officers patrolled the area while police and military leaders posted loyalty oaths to Bukele.

Imagine that: a sitting head of state assembling a mob to intimidate opposition legislators. And then reframing the mobilization of political violence as restoring constitutional order, as defending the people, as protecting the nation—from the great replacement. Their freedom-taking as freedom-defending. Welcome to the twenty-first century. Welcome to the ninth link in the chain of ideas.

CHAPTER 104

Firehose of Disinformation

Nayib Bukele is younger than Alice Weidel, Pierre Poilievre, and Giorgia Meloni. Bukele's mother, Olga Marina Ortez, is Catholic, like most Salvadorans. The Christian parents of his father, Armando Bukele Kattán, had immigrated to El Salvador from Palestine; Bukele's grandfather arrived in 1921. Trained as an industrial chemist, Armando Bukele Kattán was a prominent businessman in San Salvador. Olga and Armando had their firstborn son on July 24, 1981. They named him Nayib Bukele.

Bukele's father converted to Islam in adulthood, became ordained as an imam, and created El Salvador's inaugural mosque in 1992. But his son gravitated to his mother's Catholicism, believing "in God, in Jesus Christ," as he said. As a politician, Bukele has positioned himself as respecting all faiths: those of his Catholic mother, his Muslim father, and his wife, Gabriela. She descends from Sephardic Jews, who were expelled from Spain and Portugal in the late fifteenth century.

Bukele wanted to pursue law, but it didn't suit him. He pursued the most important craft for great replacement politicians in the twenty-first century: advertising. The art of persuasion or, in the wrong hands, disinformation. As philosopher Hannah Arendt observes in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), "The ideal subject of totalitarian rule is not the convinced Nazi or the convinced

Communist, but people for whom the distinction between fact and fiction (i.e., the reality of experience) and the distinction between true and false (i.e., the standards of thought) no longer exist."

Disinformation is false information that is intentionally and usually secretly circulated to sway public opinion or cover up facts. Disinformation should not be confused with misinformation, which is false information that is *not* intentionally circulated to mislead people—a distinction also put forth by the U.S. government.

Great replacement theory leads to anger, and "an anger state promotes the process of motivated reasoning, which further fuels belief in political misinformation," found researchers Sijing Chen, Lu Xiao, and Akit Kumar. When people lack knowledge about issues, or lack scientific literacy, they are more susceptible to believing disinformation. Older people generally have lower levels of skepticism, which makes them more vulnerable to disinformation. By contrast, individuals with higher levels of critical thinking are less vulnerable to disinformation.

No wonder great replacement politicians legislate for ignorance and uncritical thinking through their attacks on education and bans of books on racism, sexism, antisemitism, homophobia, and transphobia. The ignorance functions as their elevator to power. What journalist M. Gessen noted about Hitler and Stalin holds true for these autocratic politicians. "It was," Gessen wrote, "the blunt instrument of reassuring ignorance that propelled their rise in a frighteningly complex world."

Great replacement theorists have at their disposal powerful media platforms to unleash a firehose of disinformation. The firehose shoots from the many television networks owned by those great replacement financiers. But it also completely engulfs social media users. One study found 1.5 million tweets referenced great replacement theory between April 2012 and April 2019. The volume "steadily increased" during that period, tripling between 2015 and 2018—incidentally, the very years of Bukele's political ascent.

CHAPTER 105

Customers

Nayib Bukele dropped out of college. He led his family's advertising and PR firm, Obermet. At various points over the first decade of the twenty-first century, Bukele presided over Obermet and other companies.

Bukele got his political start running advertising for the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN). Formed in 1980, this coalition of guerrilla groups battled Salvadoran elites, backed by the Salvadoran and U.S. governments, during the Salvadoran Civil War, which lasted from 1979 to 1992. After peace came, the FMLN transformed into a political party. Bukele's father joined the party. When Bukele came of age, he joined too, with an eye on political office.

The people of Nuevo Cuscatlán, a small municipality southwest of San Salvador, elected Bukele their mayor in 2012. Bukele used that office as a springboard to run for mayor of San Salvador, in turn a stepping stone to the presidency. During his San Salvador mayoral campaign in 2015, Bukele became known as the FMLN's "crown jewel." At thirty-three years old, Bukele won. That year, El Salvador's murder rate reached 103 murders per 100,000 people. It was the highest rate in the Americas, twenty times the U.S. rate.

Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and Barrio 18 (18th Street Gang) carried out many of the murders. Mexican youth in Los Angeles

founded Barrio 18 in the 1960s. Salvadoran immigrants created MS-13 in Los Angeles in the early 1980s. After Congress passed the so-called Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act in 1996, U.S. authorities began deporting members of these gangs to El Salvador and other Central American countries. Trump's unsubstantiated charge that El Salvador had been sending gang members to the United States projected precisely what U.S. authorities did to El Salvador in the late 1990s.

U.S. immigration policy contributed to the growth of the most powerful gangs in El Salvador. And those gang leaders leveraged the conditions in El Salvador—especially high levels of poverty—to recruit more members. In 2000, the Salvadoran government attempted to crush the surge of gang activity through *mano dura* (iron-fist) policies. Police rounded up "thousands of youth based on their appearance, associations or address," journalist Steven Dudley reported. "Most of these arrests did not hold up in Salvadoran courts but served to further stigmatize already marginal communities and may have accelerated recruitment for the gangs themselves." The iron-fist approach sent thousands of Salvadorans to prison, where gang leaders heavily recruited new members.

As the gang violence surged, more people—particularly young people forced to join the gangs—fled El Salvador between 2012 and 2016. They joined other immigrants fleeing the Northern Triangle of Central America: El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.

In 2015, the Obama administration introduced an aid package for the Northern Triangle. In El Salvador, the funds created jobs and after-school programs for youth and assisted returning immigrants. But as Salvadoran homicide and immigration rates fell, immigration from Guatemala and Honduras to the U.S. rose. Perhaps it was not the economic aid that had been decisive in dropping El Salvador's homicide and immigration rates; instead, it could have been demographic factors. El Salvador's population was aging. A sizable number of Salvadorans were moving out of the demographic

window—between ages fifteen and twenty-nine—when people of all races are most likely to join a gang or immigrate to another country. At the same time, the populations of Guatemala and Honduras were younger than El Salvador's and had not grown out of what experts termed a "youth bulge." Then again, without the aid, the rise in immigration from Guatemala and Honduras might have been greater.

On March 29, 2019, President Trump *ended* the aid. Was this intentional? Great replacement politicians do need Black and Brown immigrants for the same reason companies need products.

—

Bukele became mayor of the Salvadoran capital the year U.S. aid started flowing in 2015. Bukele did all he could to convince Salvadorans that his "crime-fighting" projects—not the aging population or foreign aid—were the decisive factor in declining homicide rates. Those projects included installing lights on every corner, increasing police patrols, creating more youth scholarships, and revitalizing San Salvador's downtown business district.

Bukele did not wait for the media to publicize his projects. He created his own media empire.

CHAPTER 106

Cinematographer

Nayib Bukele started directing a team of professionals to capture his political projects and stunts for social media. He built one of the largest social media followings in El Salvador.

Some of his stunts involved clashes with FMLN leaders. Unlike Donald Trump and Pierre Poilievre, Bukele did not aspire to transform one of the mainstream parties. Bukele aimed to separate his political brand from the two major parties that had long ruled El Salvador—his own party, the FMLN, and the Alianza Republicana Nacionalista, or ARENA.

After failing to secure enough votes for two of his projects at a municipal council meeting in September 2017, Bukele lashed out. He berated an FMLN municipal council member as a "witch" and a "damn traitor" and tossed an apple at her face. On October 10, 2017, the FMLN expelled Bukele.

Two weeks later, he established his own political party, much like José Antonio Kast, Nigel Farage, Jair Bolsonaro, and Geert Wilders have done. In a video on Facebook Live, Bukele announced "our new movement," which he called Nuevas Ideas, or New Ideas. He went on a tirade about "the traditional politicians" of the FMLN and ARENA who "finance themselves with dirty money." He declared Nuevas Ideas to be "a real, horizontal movement" representative of "those millions of Salvadorans who want change for our country."

Bukele ran for the presidency in 2019. His campaign slogan: "There's enough money to go around as long as no one steals." He tied the presidential candidates from the FMLN and ARENA to the corruption of past presidents from those parties.

Bukele amassed almost 54 percent of the vote on February 3, 2019. He became the nation's youngest head of state at thirty-seven years old.

—

One factor in Bukele's victory? Likely his firehose of disinformation. Around twenty young, tech-savvy Salvadorans, some of whom, like him, were trained in marketing and publicity, worked out of a house in a residential neighborhood in San Salvador. Staffers created hundreds of sock puppets—fictitious social media accounts. These sock puppets followed Bukele. They praised Bukele's every word and deed. They attacked his critics. They reported the posts of Bukele's critics in an attempt to get their accounts suspended.

Increasingly, Bukele's team has relied on bots, automated accounts operated by software, and social media content creators, particularly TikTokers and YouTubers. Bukele's content creators have been given press credentials to cover the administration and the Legislative Assembly while traditional journalists are denied access. Bukele's puppet accounts and bots share the material of these content creators and the "blockbuster-quality videos" his communications team creates of police confronting gangs.

These troll and bot farms, comprising hundreds of accounts, have sent out "tens of thousands" of pro-Bukele posts at a time, allowing Bukele to control a sizable share of what Salvadorans consume online, which in turn has allowed Bukele to shape Salvadorans' perceptions of him and his critics.

—

The term "firehose of disinformation" derives from the term "firehose of falsehood," which was how social scientists Christopher Paul and Miriam Matthews described Russia's disinformation machine in 2016. Paul and Matthews traced the creation of Russia's firehose to 2008. Russia's firehose has four features, according to these researchers. First: "high numbers of channels and messages." Second: "a shameless willingness to disseminate partial truths or outright fictions." Third: partial truths and outright fictions being "rapid, continuous, and repetitive," with a focus on getting the Kremlin's interpretation of events out first (as experimental psychologists have found that "first impressions are very resilient"). And fourth: the firehose "lacks commitment to consistency." In other words, multiple arguments from multiple sources are more persuasive than multiple arguments from the same source or the same argument from multiple sources.

To codify the firehose, in 2013 a Russian oligarch with ties to Russian President Vladimir Putin founded the Internet Research Agency (IRA) in Saint Petersburg. IRA trolls and bots drummed up support for Brexit and Trump's election in 2016. An anti-immigrant troll with the handle @America_1st_ accumulated 24,000 followers on Twitter. IRA Facebook groups were named "Secured Borders" and "Being Patriot" and "Stop All Invaders." Before 2017, IRA trolls on Facebook reached at least 29 million Americans and as many as 126 million people around the world before being deactivated in August 2017, according to the Mueller Report.

After the United States discovered Russia's interference in the 2016 election, the Internet Research Agency rebranded as Lakhta Internet Research (LIR). By 2019, Russia had "outsourced" its trolling operations to Ghana, Nigeria, and Mexico. Young Ghanaians and Nigerians did not seem to know they were working as Russian trolls when they were paid to create and circulate posts that expressed hate of White Americans. The more these trolls created and circulated these posts, the more great replacement theorists

were able to present anti-White racism as a growing problem, particularly during the demonstrations that took place after George Floyd's murder.

It is months before Floyd's murder when President Bukele is standing on the speaking platform.

CHAPTER 107

Constitutional Disorder

Bukele explains his need for the loan's approval. "So we put into operation the Territorial Control Plan, which has yielded irrefutable results," he says. "Sixty percent of homicides have been reduced, but the Salvadoran people still suffer the onslaught of violence, of extortion, of that 40 percent of homicides that we have not reduced."

In 2019, El Salvador's homicide rate had reportedly fallen to 38 homicides per 100,000 people, a third of the rate in 2015. But it remained one of the highest in the world. Then the homicide rate reportedly fell again, nearly by half, from 2019 to 2020.

The rate reportedly continued to decline: from 21.5 per 100,000 people in 2020, to 17.3 in 2021, to 7.8 in 2022, to 2.4 in 2023. In 2024, Bukele's administration announced that El Salvador had the second-lowest homicide rate in the Americas, second only to Canada. An announcement Trump did not hail in his Republican National Convention speech in July 2024. "A certain country, and I happen to like the president of that country very much…. He says how well the country's doing because their crime rate is down," Trump said. "He would have you convinced that because he's trained murderers to be wonderful people, no. They're down because they're sending their murderers to the United States of America."

The homicide figures, tabulated by Bukele's administration, have not been independently verified. The Bukele administration has shut researchers out. Bodies have been found in mass graves, and missing persons are not included in homicide statistics. No matter. Our sense of safety as human beings is often based more on perception than the reality. Bukele systematically reshaped Salvadoran perceptions, likely through falsifying the homicide data.

—

Those legislators "who do not want to finance our police and our soldiers to protect us are the ones who financed the gangs so that they could buy weapons," Bukele charges from the speaking platform outside the Legislative Assembly. "And what did they do with those weapons and ammunition? They killed…the Salvadoran people."

Journalists discovered that Bukele's political opponents had bribed the gangs to deliver votes for their parties in the 2014 presidential election. In fact, Bukele allegedly did the same.

CHAPTER 108

Blood on His Hands

In 2015, U.S. investigators discovered that Bukele's aides had paid the gangs to not disturb his mayoral campaign. In 2020, two of Bukele's aides held secret negotiations with Barrio 18 and MS-13. In exchange for money, the gangs agreed to support Nuevas Ideas in the legislative and municipal elections in 2021. The gangs also agreed to limit gang violence (in public) and keep homicide rates low, likely through disappearing the bodies of their victims. Bukele's aides in turn provided gang leaders with money and privileges in prison, like cellphones and access to sex workers.

Bukele kept all that from his supporters and presented his actions as above corruption and blessed by El Salvador's constitution.

—

His supporters in front of the speaker's platform chant for a selfie. Bukele obliges. He pauses his speech and turns away from the podium. He snaps a selfie with the crowd as a backdrop. He begins again.

"Where is the unconstitutionality?" Bukele asks. "Is it unconstitutional for the people to peacefully gather…for the

president to speak to his people…for us to meet in a public street… for the Council of Ministers to convene the Legislative Assembly?

"Those who have broken the constitutional order are the criminals who financed the gangs that killed the Salvadoran people," Bukele says. "Blood is on their hands. Scoundrels!"

There's "another article of the constitution" that gives power "to the Salvadoran people," Bukele says. When "officials break the constitutional order, the Salvadoran people have the right to insurrection to remove those officials and reestablish the constitutional order."

Cars honk and honk. The crowd shouts and rages, rages and shouts: "Insurrection! Insurrection! Insurrection!"

A year later, another crowd in another country would rage and shout for insurrection.

CHAPTER 109

Fight Like Hell

"**Fight for Trump!** Fight for Trump! Fight for Trump!" Donald Trump's supporters chanted.

It was January 6, 2021. Trump stood in the public park behind the White House. Unless he did something—*unless they did something*—the White House would not be his residence in two weeks. Joe Biden had defeated Trump in the presidential election on November 3, 2020. Biden prepared to take office on January 20, 2021.

Throughout his campaign in 2020, Trump spread doubts about the integrity of American elections. After losing, he unleashed a firehose of disinformation that the election had been stolen from him. Trump stole millions of dollars from his supporters to "stop the steal." He charged Democrats with permitting "illegal" voters in the largely Black cities of Philadelphia, Atlanta, and Detroit to replace the power of patriots in largely White districts that voted overwhelmingly for Trump. He inundated his supporters with conspiracy theories about ballot stuffing, about dead voters, about immigrant voters, about voting machines erasing or changing millions of votes in Biden's favor. France's Marine Le Pen, Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro, Spain's Santiago Abascal, and Italy's Matteo Salvini replayed Trump's talking points about his election being stolen.

On television and radio networks, almost all Republican politicians either repeated the disinformation or refused to acknowledge Trump's defeat. Trump and his supporters tried to compel state officials to change election results. He brought dozens of bogus cases to state judges, all of which were thrown out. His supporters organized false slates of electors.

When all else failed to steal the election, political violence became Trump's final solution. Joe Biggs published a blog post four days after Biden's election victory in November. This leader of the Proud Boys ordered his great replacement soldiers: "Buy ammo, clean your guns, get storable food and water. Be prepared!"

On December 19, 2020, at 1:42 A.M., Trump tweeted it was "impossible" for him to "have lost the 2020 Election. Big protest in D.C. on January 6th. Be there, will be wild!" Great replacement soldiers received their insurrection date. The Proud Boys established the "Ministry of Self-Defense." They no longer had to "stand back and stand by," as Trump had ordered them to do in one of the presidential debates.

—

Trump basked in the immense size of the crowd. He started speaking around noon on Wednesday, January 6, 2021. "Many of you have traveled from all across the nation to be here, and I want to thank you for the extraordinary love," he said.

"We love Trump! We love Trump!" the crowd chanted for nearly twenty seconds. Trump stood there, taking it all in, feeding his voracious ego.

"We're gathered together in the heart of our nation's capital for one very, very basic and simple reason: to save our democracy."

The crowd cheered.

"But this year, using the pretext of the China virus and the scam of mail-in ballots, Democrats attempted the most brazen and

outrageous election theft."

For going on a year, Trump had been blaming China and Chinese people for the pandemic. The more Trump used racist slurs like "China virus" and "kung flu," the more his supporters blamed Asians and Asian Americans for the loss of their loved ones and the shutdowns related to COVID. This led some racist Americans to terrorize Asian Americans, and to cast their own terror as self-defense against the alleged progenitors of the pandemic, who they believed were engaging in a White genocide.

While hate crimes overall decreased in the United States in 2020, hate crimes against Asian Americans leaped by 149 percent in major cities. The anti-Asian racist violence did not ebb in 2021. One of the deadliest attacks happened weeks after Trump's January 6 speech.

—

On March 16, 2021, a twenty-one-year-old White man named Robert Aaron Long purchased a 9mm handgun and ammunition. He purchased a bottle of bourbon in Cherokee County outside Atlanta, Georgia. He drove to Young's Asian Massage while chugging his bourbon. He pulled into the parking lot. He arrived to "eliminate" the "temptation" of these alleged sex workers. He arrived at a murderous hypersexualization of East Asian women, loaded up on delusions that *their* "temptations" had replaced *his* virtue.

Long sat in the parking lot for about an hour. He entered the massage parlor in the late afternoon, about half an hour after Trump appeared on Fox News and used the slur "China virus." Long paid for a massage. After the massage, Long retired to a bathroom. He pulled out his handgun, came out of the bathroom, started shooting. He left. He drove about thirty miles to Gold Massage Spa. He opened fire again. He hurried across Piedmont Road and shot another woman at Aromatherapy Spa.

In all, Long murdered four Korean American women: Hyun Jung Grant, Soon Chung Park, Suncha Kim, and Yong Ae Yue. He also murdered two Chinese American women: Daoyou Feng and Xiaojie Tan. Two White Americans died in the shootings: Paul Andre Michels and Delaina Ashley Yaun.

Police arrested Long later that evening. Long confessed and said his murders were "not racially motivated."

—

"Our election was over at ten o'clock in the evening," Trump continued on January 6. "We are leading Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Georgia by hundreds of thousands of votes and then…boom, these explosions of bullshit, and all of a sudden…it started to happen."

Thunderous chants overlapped one another.

"Bullshit! Bullshit! Bullshit!"

"Stop the steal! Stop the steal! Stop the steal!"

More than a mile down Constitution Avenue, members of the U.S. Congress and Vice President Mike Pence gathered for a joint session. Trump ordered Republicans, including Pence, to violate the U.S. Constitution and block the certification of Biden's victory in the 2020 presidential election.

"Now, it is up to Congress to confront this egregious assault on our democracy," Trump said. "And after this, we're going to walk down, and I'll be there with you, we're going to walk down, we're going to walk down."

Trump encouraged his supporters yet again to "walk down to the Capitol" and "cheer on our brave senators and congressmen and -women" who he hoped would defy the Constitution. And "we're probably not going to be cheering so much for some of them.

"Because you'll never take back our country with weakness," Trump implored. "You have to show strength and you have to be

strong."

He urged Republican members of Congress to "stand strong for our country" since "our country has been under siege for a long time."

"We've set it on a much straighter course," Trump said. He spent quite a bit of time sharing the presumed accomplishments of his administration before ultimately laying out how the "fake election" was stolen from him and from his supporters.

Wrapping up the speech, Trump said, "And we fight. We fight like hell. And if you don't fight like hell, you're not going to have a country anymore."

Around this time, great replacement soldiers from the Proud Boys, the Oath Keepers, and the Three Percenters were already at the Capitol. They knocked over the fences on the western perimeter. Capitol police officers retreated closer to the building.

—

These great replacement soldiers planned their actions in advance. The day before, on January 5, a "war council" had met at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, D.C. The group met to shore up the next day's invasion of the Capitol. Donald Trump's sons were present. So was Trump's personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, and former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn. So was the son of a foreign president, perhaps Trump's closest ally in the Americas. Not Bukele. Another president who was, at the time, even more influential.

CHAPTER 110

Brazil Last

Present at the insurrection planning meeting on January 5, 2021: Eduardo Bolsonaro, the thirty-six-year-old son of then-president of Brazil Jair Bolsonaro. Eduardo Bolsonaro had been a member of Brazil's federal legislature since 2015 as well as the chair of Brazil's Committee on Foreign Affairs and National Defense. He trafficked in great replacement theory like his father. He signed Vox's Madrid Charter on behalf of Brazil. When Giorgia Meloni's Brothers of Italy won the 2022 election, Bolsonaro reveled in her victory with a Mussolini slogan adopted by both his father and Meloni: "Italy's new prime minister is God, fatherland and family," he tweeted.

Bolsonaro's father, Jair, was to lose his reelection in 2022. After that defeat, Eduardo met with Donald Trump at Mar-a-Lago to discuss strategy. With his son seemingly as a guide, Jair Bolsonaro followed Trump's playbook before and after the election. Bolsonaro spent his 2022 campaign alleging that Brazil's electronic voting system could be hijacked. So did his network of high-profile supporters, relatives, political allies, content creators, trolls, and bots. They all spread Bolsonaro's disinformation on social media platforms, on YouTube, and on messaging apps like WhatsApp and Telegram.

Jair Bolsonaro had dismissed the integrity of Brazil's electronic voting machines since 2014, when he was a congressman. Russian trolls amplified this disinformation. But investigators never found evidence of election fraud. Bolsonaro kept promising to share evidence, but he never did—because the claim was a lie. In one political stunt, he invited dozens of foreign diplomats to the presidential palace in July 2022. There, he suggested the need for closer involvement of Brazil's military in ensuring election security. Many diplomats left the meeting shaking at the prospects of a military coup if he lost reelection.

Days before Brazilians headed to the polls in October, Bolsonaro posted a special endorsement on Twitter. "I have seen very few leaders as exceptional as your president, President Bolsonaro," Hungary's Prime Minister Viktor Orbán said. "We are talking about a president who, despite all the current left globalism, was courageous enough to put Brazil first."

After losing the election to Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (known as Lula) on October 30, 2022, Bolsonaro did not concede defeat. He employed a firehose of disinformation online about electoral fraud. He unsuccessfully appealed to an electoral court to throw out 280,000 votes from voting machines.

In the days and weeks after the election, tens of thousands of Bolsonaro supporters descended on the outskirts of military bases in more than twenty Brazilian cities, driven by the disinformation campaign that told them their election had been stolen. They set up encampments, including in the capital city of Brasília. They were likely inspired by the encampments of Canadian truckers earlier in the year. They called on military commanders to overthrow Lula. (Some members of the military listened. Four members of an elite army unit and a federal police agent apparently plotted to assassinate Lula. They were arrested two years later.)

Brazil's Superior Electoral Court ratified Lula's election on December 12, 2022. Brazil inaugurated President Lula on January 1,

2023. But Bolsonaro updated Trump's insurrectionist playbook. He kept his handprints as far away from the insurrection as possible. He made sure to not be in the country when the insurrection happened. He had fled to the safe harbor of Orlando, Florida, in late December—while still serving his presidential term.

On the morning of January 7, 2023, as many as a hundred buses stuffed with Bolsonaro supporters arrived in Brasília. Social media influencers had urged "patriots" to join these "Liberty Caravans" to the nation's capital. Plans had been discussed all week long on social media platforms about "*Festa de Selma.*" *Festa,* meaning party. *Selma,* a code for *selva,* a word meaning "jungle" in Portuguese and used in the military as a war cry.

Bolsonaro's supporters walked off the buses and made their way to the Army Headquarters, mushrooming the encampment of about 200 people to more than 4,000. The next afternoon, January 8, they marched from the Army Headquarters toward the Three Powers Plaza. The seat of Brazil's federal government. Home to the presidential palace, the National Congress, and the Supreme Court. Brazil's new president, Lula, was out of town. The National Congress, not in session. The Supreme Court, not meeting.

As Bolsonaro's supporters arrived at the Three Powers Plaza, they quickly overran the police barriers at the perimeter and they commenced their insurrection.

—

At 4:25 P.M. on February 9, 2020, soldiers from El Salvador's army and a special police unit invade El Salvador's legislative chamber. Most of the legislative seats are empty. Only twenty-two of the eighty-four lawmakers have answered Bukele's call for a special session. These soldiers take up positions around what's known as the Blue Room, named for the blue-walled meeting venue of El Salvador's legislators between 1906 and 1974. The soldiers embody

an antidemocratic faith in force inside this room that was declared a national monument in 1974. Their army fatigues, tactical gear, and rifles hark back to the days when Latin American nations were ruled by military dictatorships that took their power by force of arms.

These soldiers hark back to Berlin on March 23, 1933. Armed SA and SS men surrounded Germany's parliament and stood menacingly at all the exits while Hitler whipped up enough votes for the Enabling Act, a way for German legislators to vote themselves out of power. The German soldiers spoke loudly in their silence. Likewise, the Salvadoran soldiers speak in silence as Bukele speaks outside.

"I want to ask you to allow me to enter the Blue Room of the Legislative Assembly to say a prayer and for God to give us wisdom for the steps we are going to take, and then the decision will be up to you," Bukele says. "Do you allow me?"

"Yes!" his supporters shout in unison.

"God bless you, Salvadoran people," Bukele responds. "Please wait for me here. I'll be back in a moment."

CHAPTER 111

Stay Peaceful

The mob on the western edge of the U.S. Capitol building grew larger on January 6, 2021. More and more people marched down from the Ellipse, where Trump was speaking. The ending of Trump's speech seemed to open the dam. Thousands of Trump supporters descended on the Capitol, ready to "fight like hell."

They overwhelmed the much smaller battalion of Capitol Police officers, reinforced by Washington, D.C., officers. The insurrectionists sprayed the officers with chemical weapons. They beat up the officers with bats, pipes—even flagpoles. Trump supporters crushed and trampled the officers to push their way into the Capitol building. In total, the insurrectionists assaulted more than 140 police officers. One officer, sprayed in the face with a chemical weapon, died after a series of strokes the next day. Four other officers later died by suicide.

The insurrectionists shattered windows and invaded the seat of U.S. democracy. They flew their rebel Confederate flag for the first time in the building. Some of the officers did not resist the insurrectionists. Some took smiling pictures with them.

Capitol workers, members of Congress and their aides, and Vice President Pence fled for their lives. Out of the building. To secure locations. Or they barricaded themselves inside offices, inside

closets, inside a legislative hall. The insurrectionists fought like hell to break down doors and seize them.

Pence was especially in danger. "Mike Pence didn't have the courage to do what should have been done to protect our Country and our Constitution," Trump tweeted as his supporters searched for the "traitor." Some of the insurrectionists chanted, "Hang Mike Pence!" It prefigured the moment in 2023 when Vox head Santiago Abascal would threaten Spain's Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez with execution: "There will come a time when the people will want to see him strung up by his feet."

The self-identified "patriots" could not find the "traitors," so they desecrated the Capitol building instead. They ransacked it, looted it, urinated on it, vandalized it.

Like the rest of the country and the world, Trump watched this second-ever invasion of the U.S. Capitol on television. He looked pleased. His aides pressured him to strongly condemn the attack. He refused. He sent half-hearted tweets to "stay peaceful" and "go home," while expressing his "love" for these "patriots" who "have been badly & unfairly treated for so long." It was like training a fighter for months, ushering the fighter into the ring, and when the fighter starts fighting like hell, whispering, "We have to have peace" while also shouting at the fighter, "You have been wronged!" The insurrectionists could discern where Trump stood and kept fighting like hell to prevent his power—and theirs—from supposedly being replaced.

Four Trump supporters died during the insurrection. To think, if Trump had not trained these fighters and sent them into violence, then these four White people might still be alive.

The D.C. National Guard had to wait more than three hours for Trump's Department of Defense to approve the troop deployment to end the invasion. The Capitol was not cleared of Trump's mob until around 6 P.M. Almost all of them walked away after committing the worst insurrectionary act on the federal government since the Civil

War. Practically none of the insurrectionists were arrested on site, though the FBI would arrest and charge more than a thousand of them over the next four years. But when Trump regained the presidency, he pardoned them.

Members of Congress resumed their joint session that evening. In the early hours of January 7, 2021, in a shattered Capitol building, they certified Joe Biden's victory in the 2020 presidential election. There have been several shattered capitol buildings during this authoritarian age. Not just in the Americas.

CHAPTER 112

Martial Law

On April 23, 2017, about two hundred supporters of the VMRO-DPMNE invaded North Macedonia's capitol building in Skopje. In this Balkan nation just north of Greece, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity—more simply known by its acronym, VMRO-DPMNE—espouses "antiquization." This is the myth that twenty-first-century ethnic Macedonians are descendants of ancient Macedonians like Alexander the Great. Antiquization is foundational to a great replacement theory that the majority population of ethnic Macedonians are being replaced in the twenty-first century by the country's largest minority group, ethnic Albanians. (Albania lies on North Macedonia's western border.)

Before he fled to Hungary, where Viktor Orbán's administration granted him political asylum, before his corruption conviction, the leader of the VMRO-DPMNE had been prime minister of North Macedonia. Nikola Gruevski held the office from 2006 until protesters forced his resignation in 2016.

After the parliamentary election in 2016, Gruevski's great replacement party refused to cede power to the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (Socijaldemokratski Sojuz na Makedonij). Party officials denied the election results. In February 2017, Gruevski posted on Facebook that "people have to stand up and defend

Macedonian national interests, and not stay at home in their slippers." The cue: the country's great replacement soldiers started organizing.

On April 23, 2017, VMRO-DPMNE supporters invaded North Macedonia's parliament. It was the day Talat Xhaferi became the first ethnic Albanian to be elected speaker of the parliament since Macedonia became independent of Yugoslavia in 1991. Gruevski framed Xhaferi's election as ethnic Albanians replacing ethnic Macedonians in power. But the mob failed to stop the power handover to the Social Democrats. Around one hundred people were injured during the insurrection, including nine members of parliament.

To the east of North Macedonia is Bulgaria. Anti-vaxxers, raging against vaccine mandates, invaded the Bulgarian parliament on January 12, 2022. A third of the parliament's Revival Party members were vaccinated. But they did not just incite the mob. Revival MPs literally tried to open the doors of parliament for the mob before police repelled the insurrection.

The insurrection in South Korea resembled the one planned in El Salvador. Troops attempted to enter the main hall of South Korea's National Assembly on the evening of December 3, 2024. South Korean President Yoon Suk Yeol had just declared martial law for the first time since Chun Doo-hwan's military dictatorship in 1980. Yoon's decree, issued by Army General Park An-su, banned all political actions of parties, workers, and citizens, prohibited "fake news," and allowed police to arrest any violators without warrants. Yoon justified his martial law to protect the freedom and safety of South Koreans, which tracked with a lesson on tyranny from historian Timothy Snyder: "People who assure you that you can *only* gain security at the price of liberty usually want to deny you both."

Yoon accused the opposition Minjoo Party (Democratic Party) of sympathizing with North Korean "communists," of election fraud, of

turning "the National Assembly into a den of criminals." Yoon claimed election fraud had been widespread.

When he ran for president in 2022, Yoon positioned feminists as South Korea's replacers, blaming them for South Korea having the lowest birth rate in the world. He covered up the high costs of raising children, the unfriendliness of work environments to families, and the enormous gender wage gap—the highest among OECD members in 2022 (and still today). Yoon argued sexism didn't exist in South Korea, and he engaged in the inversion of sexism during his country's #MeToo movement. He pledged to abolish the Ministry of Gender Equality, accusing it of treating men like "potential sex criminals." He rode a convoy of anti-feminist rage into the narrowest presidential victory in South Korean history.

Since then, the opposition Democrats, which held a parliamentary majority, repeatedly rebuffed Yoon's policies and impeached his scandal-ridden ministers. They rejected his budgets. Yoon had had enough of this democracy. But his martial law prompted fierce opposition, even from his own People Power Party. The National Assembly quickly voted to overturn the martial law declaration. Yoon reversed course within hours and withdrew the troops from the National Assembly. Yoon was impeached and removed from office.

—

But the worst insurrection of all happened in Brazil on January 8, 2023. After breaking through the police barriers, Bolsonaro's supporters forced their way into the National Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Presidential Office. Many wore green and yellow, Brazil's national colors. Many carried the Brazilian flag. They engaged police in hand-to-hand combat. In one notorious instance, the insurrectionists pulled an officer off a horse and severely beat him.

Bolsonaro's supporters shattered windows in the three buildings on the plaza. They ransacked and looted and urinated in and vandalized empty offices and halls. They set fires and destroyed fire hydrants. They smashed computers and printers. Just like in the U.S. Capitol attack, these insurrectionists damaged or destroyed precious works of art and historical artifacts. Paintings. Sculptures. Vases. A clock. A table. Even a stained-glass window. They cared as little for these national symbols as the Canadian truckers who danced on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. All the while, these invaders identified as patriots protecting their nation from the invaders.

Bolsonaro's supporters overturned the famous U-shaped table where Brazil's Supreme Court justices deliberate. The insurrectionists climbed to the roof of the National Congress and unfurled their banner: "Intervention." They were still calling on the military to intervene and eject Brazilian democracy.

Instead, the military intervened to stop the insurrection. Soldiers and police arrested more than a thousand insurrectionists on site.

And yet this Brazilian insurrection in 2023, like the American insurrection in 2021, hardly slowed the electoral march of great replacement parties in the Americas and beyond. If anything, the insurrectionists boosted the electoral prospects of politicians who openly praised Bolsonaro and Trump.

CHAPTER 113

Great Again

In the presidential election of nearby Paraguay on April 30, 2023, political analysts had written off the media personality Paraguayo Cubas, of the Partido Cruzada Nacional (National Crusade Party). Political insiders could hardly take this political outsider seriously, with all his publicity stunts. But Cubas shocked political observers by securing 23 percent of the vote. Still, he refused to accept his third-place defeat and falsely cried voter fraud. His party members declared that the election had been stolen. Cubas encouraged his supporters to protest the election.

Paraguayan authorities arrested Cubas for breaching the peace. "All the criminals in this country should be handcuffed like Paraguayo Cubas," he said to a livestream of viewers inside the police vehicle. The "criminals" he was referring to: rulers from the Partido Colorado, or Colorado Party, which had governed Paraguay since 1947 except for a brief period from 2008 to 2013. Big, bald, and brash, Cubas channeled "the underlying anger" of everyday Paraguayans about their nation's widespread poverty and inequality, as political scientist Esteban Caballero noted in *Latinoamérica21.* Rather than attacking that inequality with equitable policy change, Cubas "seduces, but he leads nowhere," Caballero wrote. An apt description of great replacement politicians.

In another surprising election result, Argentinians elected Javier Milei president in November 2023. An economist and former tantric sex coach, Milei had been dismissed by the political establishment as a "Donald Trump–like character" and "daytime television buffoon," to use the words of *The Guardian.* At his campaign rallies, supporters wore merchandise with the phrase "Make Argentina Great Again." Days after his inauguration as president, this leader of La Libertad Avanza, or the Liberty Advances coalition, restricted one of the most basic liberties advanced to Argentines: the freedom to protest power.

In 2023, Turkey faced economic turmoil. Some voters blamed millions of Syrian refugees. Back in 2015, Turkey had taken in more refugees from neighboring Syria than any other country. A firehose of disinformation spread that the refugees had been taking jobs and public resources, and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan had been granting them citizenship to vote for him. On August 26, 2021, Ümit Özdağ established the Zafer Partisi (Victory Party) as a great replacement party wholly focused on resisting the "invasions" of immigrants. His popularity compelled President Erdoğan and other mainstream political figures to ward off his political rise by more forcefully declaring and executing their plans to remigrate refugees back to Syria. Since 2019, Erdoğan's military has occupied towns in northern Syria, declared these areas "safe zones," built housing, and relocated roughly half a million refugees there. Was it all enough for Erdoğan to be reelected in the 2023 election?

Erdoğan won the first round of voting in 2023. He then secured the support of the third-place finisher, Sinan Oğan, of the Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party), who pledged to consider remigrating refugees to Syria "by force if necessary." In the final round of voting, Erdoğan defeated Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, of the "center-left" Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party), who also pledged to remigrate all Syrian refugees if elected, and was endorsed by Ümit Özdağ. Erdoğan won reelection to a third

term as president. Turkey's constitution prohibits a fourth term as president, but Erdoğan has entertained changing the constitution to extend his electoral dictatorship.

Ahead of the 2023 general election, New Zealand First, the National Party, and ACT New Zealand all campaigned on abolishing the Māori Health Authority—and formed a governing coalition. The New Zealand government had created the Māori Health Authority to combat health disparities between Māori people and White people in New Zealand, as well as to manage the healthcare of the Māori people. To project their opposition as "not racist," the parties leaned on the proximity denial of the Māori leader of New Zealand First, Winston Peters. And they argued they were against "race-based initiatives." They did not identify as "race-based" those policies and practices that led to White people living longer than Māori people in New Zealand. What concerned them: "non-Indigenous citizens are losing out because of policies designed for Māori," as a journalist reported.

In Switzerland, the Swiss People's Party won the most seats in the 2023 parliamentary elections in October, weeks before Geert Wilders's party did the same in the Netherlands. "We have problems with migration, with illegal migrants," party chair Marco Chiesa said after the victory. In Finland, the Finns Party secured the second-most seats in parliament on April 2, 2023. The party's former leader, Jussi Halla-aho, became speaker of the parliament of Finland.

In Luxembourg's October 2023 election, the Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei (Alternative Democratic Reform Party) secured its largest number of seats since 2004. This election result came despite the fact that one party candidate, Alain Vossen, withdrew from his race after Facebook posts were uncovered of him posing in a T-shirt with an "SS" logo, sharing images of Hitler, and downplaying the Holocaust.

Wealthy businessman Jan Topić ran for president of Ecuador in 2023. He campaigned as Ecuador's Bukele. When asked about all

the people unjustly imprisoned by Bukele, Topić responded, "But they are alive, aren't they?" He was eliminated in the first round of voting, but garnered close to 15 percent of the vote. In Colombia, Senator María Fernanda Cabal, who signed the Madrid Charter, was another known admirer of Bukele—perhaps because a survey found that 55 percent of Colombians wanted a president like Bukele. Two-thirds of Colombians favor "the mega-prison that President Nayib Bukele of El Salvador built," according to the same survey.

In Guatemala, several candidates mimicked Bukele during the 2023 presidential election. But it was the anti-corruption candidate, Bernardo Arévalo, an unassuming sixty-five-year-old sociologist, who won the presidency on August 20, 2023. So Guatemala's ruling elites launched a campaign to overturn the election. They unleashed a firehose of disinformation that the election had been stolen. They brought bogus cases to annul the election results. They attempted to suspend Arévalo's political party, the Movimiento Semilla (Seed Movement). Prosecutors seized and investigated paper ballots. The so-dubbed "pact of the corrupt" failed. Indigenous leaders organized a national strike to protect democracy. Arévalo assumed office on January 15, 2024.

In the end, Guatemala's "pact of the corrupt" did not get away with it all, like Trump did. Bolsonaro was a different story.

CHAPTER 114

Real Traitors

Weeks after the insurrection in Brazil, in February 2023, Jair Bolsonaro appeared at a Turning Point USA event at Trump's National Doral Miami hotel. The event host was Charlie Kirk. Bolsonaro said he did not "understand" how he lost the election. The crowd erupted in chants: "Fraud! Fraud! Fraud!" Bolsonaro smiled.

In June 2023, Bolsonaro described the insurrection as "little old women and little old men with Brazilian flags on their back and Bibles under their arms." Likewise, Donald Trump, during his 2024 presidential campaign, denied that he'd lost the 2020 election and downplayed the insurrection.

Trump and Bolsonaro framed the insurrectionists as patriots of their countries defending themselves against oppression. They cast themselves and the arrested rebels as the subjects of political persecution. These were not new talking points. They echoed the claims made, more than a century earlier, by Confederate apologists for their insurrection against the United States.

—

In an 1866 memoir, the former Confederate General Jubal A. Early argued that the North used slavery "to arouse the passions of a

fanatical mob" and "the civilized world" against enslavers. The "inferior race" of Black people was "as happy and contented as any in the world," Early wrote. It was his "duty" to "defend" the South "against invasion" from the "real traitors who had overthrown the constitution" and "established…an odious despotism"—Lincoln and his aides. Confederates fought the Civil War, Early argued, not for "the institution of slavery, but for the inestimable right of self-government."

The great replacement of history to cover up the wartime defense of slavery transfigured into the postwar defense of wealthy White male supremacy. "The negroes have neither the intelligence nor the other qualifications which are necessary to make them safe depositories of political power," wrote former Confederate General Robert E. Lee in 1868. The (wealthy White male) people of the South want "relief from oppressive misrule" and the reestablishment of "the right of self-government." Former Confederate President Jefferson Davis, meanwhile, argued that Northern states had asserted their "sovereignty" over the Southern states. When the Southern states asserted their own sovereignty during the Civil War, they were "declared to be guilty of insurrection," Davis wrote.

—

On his Fox News show on March 6, 2023, Tucker Carlson discussed video footage of the January 6 insurrection that had been provided by Republican House Speaker Kevin McCarthy. The clips showed small groups wandering around the building and taking photos. "The footage does not show an insurrection or a riot in progress," Carlson said. "The video record does not support the claim that January 6 was an insurrection." Carlson described "the overwhelming majority" of the crowd as "peaceful…orderly and meek. These were not insurrectionists, they were sightseers." Republican Georgia Congressman Andrew Clyde marketed the

insurrection as a "normal tourist visit." During a CNN town hall in 2023, Trump praised the insurrectionists for coming to the Capitol "with love in their heart."

Thomas Webster, a former Marine and retired NYPD officer, swung a metal flagpole at an officer and tackled him on January 6. "I felt like I was the cop and he was the protester," Webster said on the stand. He was the first insurrectionist to present a self-defense argument at trial. The court didn't buy it. Webster was sentenced to ten years in prison.

After testifying before a bipartisan congressional committee investigating the insurrection, former Trump aide Garrett Ziegler said the committee members "probably do hate the American founders and most White people in general." He classed the investigation as "a Bolshevistic anti-White campaign." Of course, "Bolshevistic" was the term Nazis used to describe anti-Nazi campaigns.

This firehose of disinformation worked. In a March 2023 poll, more than half—54 percent—of Republicans believed that "people participated in a legitimate public discourse" at the Capitol on January 6, 2021. About a quarter, or 27 percent, "strongly or somewhat" approved of the insurrection.

In August 2023, nearly a quarter of American respondents to the annual American Values Survey agreed that "because things have gotten so far off track, true American patriots may have to resort to violence in order to save our country." This represented an increase from 15 percent in 2021. In this values survey in 2023, 41 percent of believers in "replacement theory" thought political violence might be necessary. A third of Republicans thought this. Pro-Trump Republicans were three times more likely than anti-Trump Republicans to hold this viewpoint. Nearly a third of U.S. veterans agreed with great replacement theory, with nearly a fifth willing to take up arms. In 2024, the poll was repeated, and even more

Republican respondents (29 percent) responded that "true American patriots may have to resort to violence to save the country."

Back in 2020, Bukele supporters are ready to resort to violence.

CHAPTER 115

Political Speech

Bukele climbs down from the speaking platform, walking through two sets of flags. He makes his way through the gate to the nearby Blue Room. Flanking him is an entourage of gun-toting soldiers and police. He enters the Blue Room to a band playing "Marcha Granadera," as is customary when Bukele arrives at official functions. He appears to take note of his controlled mob of troops positioned as planned. He probably feels the legislative chamber is his for the moment. Just as the insurrectionists felt for a moment in Brasília, Washington, D.C., and beyond.

Bukele walks to the front of the Blue Room. He takes a seat where the leadership of the Legislative Assembly normally sits. A place no president should be sitting.

"Welcome to this legislative chamber," Bukele says. "We are going to begin the session" called "in accordance" with "the constitution" and "the internal regulations of this same Legislative Assembly." He charges the absent deputies with "constitutional contempt."

Bukele flexes his power. "Now I think it is very clear who has control of the situation," he says. The "decision we are going to make now, we are going to put in the hands of God. So let's say a prayer."

Bukele closes his eyes. He raises his hands. He turns his palms toward his face. He prays in silence for two minutes. Only the sounds of cameras flashing and the distant honking and shouts of his supporters outside can be heard. He puts his face in his palms.

Bukele frames his antidemocratic actions "as dictated by God," sociologist Isabel Rikkers and political scientist Noelle Brigden have documented. He frames the gangs as being directed by Satan. As MS-13 gained power, "they became satanic," Bukele said. "They started doing satanic rituals." Bukele markets the gangs this way to market anyone who opposes *him* as satanic—and to market his supporters as "the good people." This allows him to market his bout with gangs (his political opponents) as a spiritual war "between good and evil," as he wrote on Facebook. "There is a spiritual war and there is a physical war," Bukele said in a 2024 interview with Tucker Carlson. "If you win the spiritual war, it will reflect into the physical war."

—

Prayer complete, Bukele raises his eyes to the sky. He stands up in silence.

Bukele strides out of the Blue Room, soldiers in tow. He marches back to the stage, where his 5,000 supporters await.

His content creators await, too, along with his trolls in the nearby house in San Salvador. His social media soldiers are ready to push his propaganda online.

In December 2015, Trump posted to Facebook about his plan to ban all Muslims from entering the United States. Some Facebook employees identified the video as hate speech, a violation of the company's community guideless. But Facebook executives created "a carveout for political speech," thereby giving politicians free rein to spread hateful great replacement theory, perhaps because Facebook already knew these posts got the most engagement. And

Facebook ran ads when users searched for racist groups, a study has shown—meaning that Facebook has profited from searches for racist content. And "Facebook's algorithmic tools" have directed visitors of "white supremacist pages to other extremist content," researchers discovered. So too has Instagram, owned by Meta, the parent company of Facebook. So too has YouTube. Researchers have found that even "moderate" users of YouTube "encounter more right-leaning than moderate or left-leaning content."

Over a three-month period in 2021, researchers at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue collected a sample of 1,030 videos on TikTok "that were used to promote hatred and glorify extremism and terrorism." The ISD researchers found White supremacist videos to be "by far the largest category of content." These racist videos included "support for the Great Replacement and white genocide conspiracy theories."

As bad as this content is for users everywhere, the machinations of political disinformation have been far worse outside of the United States and Western Europe. Facebook data scientist Sophie Zhang criticized Facebook leaders for taking nine months to address a campaign "that used thousands of inauthentic assets to boost President Juan Orlando Hernández of Honduras on a massive scale to mislead the Honduran people." Facebook finally acted in July 2020. But two weeks after those trolls were eliminated, new trolls emerged like weeds. When Zhang raised concerns about the reemergence of pro-Hernández trolls, Facebook's vice president of integrity confirmed that the company prioritized threats in the United States and Western Europe.

In many ways, Bukele followed the political tactics of Honduran President Hernández, who criminalized, jailed, and reportedly disappeared critics of his administration. After becoming president of Honduras in 2014, Hernández used the power of gangs as an excuse to bolster the authoritarian power of his Partido Nacional de Honduras (National Party of Honduras). The Honduran Supreme

Court allowed him to run for reelection in 2017 despite a constitutional ban. Hernández claimed victory that year in an election marred by fraud. The fraud extended to his Facebook troll farm, which Zhang discovered in 2020. (By the way, three days after Honduran Women's Day on January 25, 2021, Partido Nacional legislators ratified an amendment that enshrined the existing prohibition of abortion and same-sex marriage in the constitution.)

Hernández and Bukele have been allies of Trump's efforts to stop the purported "invasion" of immigrants of color from Honduras and El Salvador. In the fall of 2019, Presidents Hernández and Bukele both signed asylum agreements with the United States to reroute seekers of American asylum traveling through Central America to Honduras and El Salvador. In a September 2019 address to the United Nations, Hernández asserted that "drug trafficking, gangs, organized crime, armed groups—they create violence which slows development," which then "creates forced and irregular immigration." On June 26, 2024, Hernández was sentenced to forty-five years in a U.S. prison. He had received millions from drug-trafficking organizations in exchange for protecting them from prosecution. Trump announced a pardon of Hernández on November 28, 2025.

—

Competition is another reason social media companies "deprioritized content moderation." This has allowed great replacement theory to spread. Back then, somewhat stricter platforms like Twitter and Facebook moderated out some racist content after the 2016 and 2020 U.S. elections. Racist content creators and users left or were forced to leave. They gravitated to wholly unmoderated platforms such as Telegram and Rumble (both founded in 2013), BitChute (2017), Parler (2018), and Gettr (2021).

In the days after the January 6 insurrection, Facebook and Twitter banned Trump from their platforms. Within a year, Trump had launched his own social media platform to profit from feeding his supporters disinformation. Trump started exclusively posting on his new "Truth Social," launched in February 2022. Later that year, a great replacement financier purchased the most politically influential social media platform in the world.

CHAPTER 116

X

The world's richest man, Elon Musk, purchased Twitter on October 27, 2022. He renamed the platform X and fired the company's entire moderation staff in Brazil. This mass firing opened the door for Bolsonaro and his trolls to swarm Brazilian users with lies that the runoff election on October 30, 2022, had been stolen from him. This firehose of disinformation set the stage for the insurrection in January.

After firing the content moderators in Brazil, Musk eliminated these teams around the world and reinstated several banned great replacement theorists and politicians, including Trump. As a result, X saw an "unprecedented" increase in racist, homophobic, and antisemitic posts. Musk eliminated fact-checking and tried to build original programming. After being fired from Fox News in April 2023, Tucker Carlson created a show on X, where he interviewed great replacement politicians.

On his own X account, Musk promoted great replacement theory to his approximately 150 million followers (including the inactive ones that were possibly bots). "They are openly pushing for genocide of white people in South Africa," Musk posted on July 31, 2023. At the end of December 2023, Musk pinned to his profile a misleading graph purporting to prove that more immigrants were coming to the southern border than American babies were being

born. “Almost no one seems to be aware of the immense size and lightning growth of this issue,” Musk wrote.

On January 2, 2024, Musk posted that “the biggest problem that humanity faces is population collapse,” a great replacement theory that demographers commonly debunk. The next day, Geert Wilders of the Netherlands reposted Musk’s tweet. “The biggest problem we face today @elonmusk is a collapse of our own culture and Western values,” Wilders wrote, “due to open borders, mass immigration, and uncontrollable amount of non-western asylum seekers and last but not least too many weak politicians advocating cultural relativism.” On January 4, Musk posted that he “agreed.”

Hours later, Musk accused the Biden administration of “actively facilitating illegal immigration.” An X user asked why. “They view them as future Dem voters,” Musk responded. On March 18, Musk pushed this conspiracy theory again on Don Lemon’s new show on X. When Lemon perceptively told Musk, “The great replacement theory is a neo-Nazi trope,” Musk denied that he subscribed to great replacement theory. Afterward, Musk canceled Lemon’s show.

On April 28, 2024, Musk tweeted, “If birth rates continue to plummet, human civilization will end.” Musk, a father of at least fourteen children, embedded in the post a video from the first ever Natal Conference held not far from his compound in Austin, Texas. Attendees of “Natal Con” identified as “pronatalists.” They believed what Musk believed, and what Christchurch shooter Brenton Tarrant stressed he most wanted readers “to remember” from his “Great Replacement” manifesto: that White “birth rates must change.”

In recent years, Turkish President Erdoğan has surprised wealthy Turks at their weddings, encouraging them to have four children, like him. “Birth control is treason,” he said to one couple. It dries “out our breed.” As far back as 2002, Patrick Buchanan, three-time U.S. presidential candidate, wrote, “Western women are terminating their pregnancies at a rate that represents

autogenocide for peoples of European ancestry and an end of their nations."

—

Speaking on a video Musk shared on X was Kevin Dolan, the organizer of Natal Con. Dolan had previously worked as a data scientist while anonymously posting the racist idea of Charles A. Murray that racial inequity persists due to racial genetic hierarchy. When someone exposed Dolan, he left his job and started openly sharing his views on his podcast. He shared his sexist view that the relationship between a man and a woman is a "relationship between superior and inferior." Dolan wanted people to stop lying "about the existence of these hierarchies." People should "rehabilitate hierarchies of nature," beginning with the family. "And that brings us back to where we started, with selective breeding." His goal for Natal Con: to assemble an "aristocratic class" that resists feminism and multiculturalism, which he believed was creating a horrible "breeding system."

Another speaker at the first Natal Con in 2023 was Charles Haywood, a businessman and blogger from Indiana. "Generally, women should not have careers," he said. "They should be socially stigmatized if they have careers." Haywood ended his speech with these words: "The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its progeny are probably the single most destructive set of laws in American history, and all should be wiped forever from the history of this nation." The audience applauded.

Haywood sponsored but did not address the crowd at the second Natal Con in Austin in March 2025. Two hundred people attended, doubling the size of the first conference. At the welcome dinner on March 28, Jack Posobiec, the political operative who spoke at CPAC in 2024 about overthrowing democracy, expressed, "To the enemies of civilization, and call them whatever you want—

the woke, the globalists, the nihilists—they don't just want to rewrite our history. They actually want to erase our future. They want to erase us, all of us, everyone in this room."

In his opening address, Dolan, the conference organizer, reminded the audience of their powerful backers. "The topic of demographic decline clearly matters to Elon Musk, JD Vance, and many others in the Trump administration," Dolan said. "Which means that the great ideas developed here can get a hearing that would not have been possible last year."

—

On the same day Natal Con 2025 opened, March 28, Fox News aired an exclusive interview with Elon Musk. Host Bret Baier asked Musk, "What's the biggest thing for you that keeps you up at night?" Musk looked down for several seconds. "The birth rate is very low in almost every country," he answered. "And unless that changes, civilization will disappear. America had the lowest birth rate, I believe ever, that was last year. Places like Korea, the birth rate is one-third the replacement rate…. Nothing seems to be turning that around. Humanity is dying."

In fact, as Musk was speaking, the number of human births outpaced the number of human deaths in the world. Humanity was not dying. Musk's conception of humanity seems to include only White people and East Asians. In 2024, European countries like Ukraine and Italy and East Asian countries like Taiwan and South Korea had the lowest fertility rates in the world. The fifteen countries with the highest fertility rates in the world that year were all in sub-Saharan Africa. American great replacement fury of the Browning of the United States has become the transnational great replacement fury of the Blackening of the world. The White genocide, in Musk's imaginary, is a national and global phenomenon.

—

Great replacement theory runs in Musk's family. Musk's Minnesota-born maternal grandfather, Joshua N. Haldeman, grew up in Saskatchewan, Canada. In the 1940s, Haldeman became national chairman of an antisemitic party in Canada named Social Credit. His party newspaper printed copies of the antisemitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion.* Haldeman ran for office in Canada and lost. In 1948, Haldeman learned, like the rest of the world, that the White Afrikaners had codified apartheid in South Africa. By 1950, he had moved his family to South Africa, including his two-year-old daughter Maye. Maye married Errol Musk, a White engineer, in 1970. They gave birth to Elon Musk on June 28, 1971, in Pretoria, South Africa. They divorced by the decade's end.

Before birthing Elon, Maye Haldeman witnessed her father's outspoken defense of South African apartheid in the 1960s, using great replacement theory. Joshua Haldeman projected a global battle against the "International Conspiracy" of the "hordes of Coloured people" controlled by Jewish bankers. In 1960, he considered apartheid South Africa to be "the leader of White Christian Civilization." In the face of the burgeoning anti-apartheid movement, Haldeman positioned South Africa as "becoming more and more the focal point, the bulwark, and the subject of attack by anti-Christian, anti-White forces throughout the world."

—

Back on the speaking platform in San Salvador, President Bukele positions himself as the bulwark of democracy after he invades the Legislative Assembly.

CHAPTER 117

Pulverized

President Bukele stands before his controlled mob again. Soldiers flank him again on this public street. "If we wanted to push the button," Bukele says, "we just push the button.

"But I asked God and God told me patience. Patience, patience."

Bukele can hear wails of disagreement. His supporters want their president to push the button of insurrection.

"Patience!" Bukele shouts.

Bukele decides against inciting his mob of supporters to storm El Salvador's capitol in 2020. Maybe because he stands at the beginning, not the end, of his presidential term, unlike Trump and Bolsonaro. Better to be patient. Better to assume control of El Salvador's legislature and courts. Then his legislators and judges could legalize his corruption. He could establish his electoral dictatorship.

"On February 28 all these scoundrels will leave through the front door, and we will remove them democratically," Bukele says to his supporters. The next parliamentary election is scheduled for a year later, on February 28, 2021.

—

The day after Bukele's threatened insurrection, El Salvador's legislators censured Bukele. El Salvador's Supreme Court ruled Bukele could neither use the military to intimidate legislators nor call for another special session.

Bukele announced he would "obey the order." But he put his firehose of disinformation on full blast for the coming campaign. All his social media influencers and trolls and bots were activated to brand his Nuevas Ideas party as the defender of Salvadorans against the gangs. His firehose of disinformation tied the opposing parties as colluding with the gangs, taking Salvadoran lives. The inundation worked. On February 28, 2021, the Nuevas Ideas party accumulated fifty-four out of eighty-four seats in the legislature. Of course, Bukele's legislators approved the $109 million loan to finance his police state.

Thereafter, Bukele consolidated his electoral dictatorship. His legislators removed the attorney general, who had been investigating Bukele's administration for colluding with the gangs. His legislators ejected all five Supreme Court judges. Bukele appointed loyalists, assuming control of the nation's judiciary.

On March 26, 2022, a catastrophe struck El Salvador. Gangs killed sixty-two Salvadorans that day. President Bukele declared a national "state of emergency." His legislators passed a suite of laws that barred everyone in the country from reproducing or transmitting "messages or statements created or allegedly created" by gangs that could "generate a state of anxiety and panic to the population." Violators faced imprisonment for up to fifteen years. The laws prescribed heavier punishments for anyone associated with a "terrorist group," as broadly defined in Salvadoran law. The laws effectively gave Bukele's police force the power to arrest anyone suspected of being a gang member or of supporting gangs. The laws suspended Salvadorans' constitutional rights to due process, to privacy, to lawyers, even to being informed of the reason for their arrest. Bukele went on to build the largest prison in

Latin America, a mega-prison that officials boasted could confine more than a hundred inmates in a single cell. By 2024, Bukele's forces had put behind bars one in every fifty-seven Salvadoran citizens: the highest incarceration rate in the world.

These new laws unmistakably targeted everyone not powering his firehose of disinformation: politicians, journalists, defense attorneys, civil servants, and human rights advocates. Bukele had long cast anyone who wasn't one of his supporters as colluding with "terrorist" gangs. He even indicted the Inter-American Court of Human Rights as being "gang members' partners" after this regional court condemned his policies. Bukele himself had literally partnered with the gangs.

Many of Bukele's opponents fled El Salvador and one journalist was expelled. Those who remained have been harassed, have had their cellphones hacked with spyware technology purchased from Israel, have seen drones fly over their homes. Nearly two-thirds of Salvadorans surveyed told a Chilean pollster that they fear negative consequences if they publicly express their views about the president. In 2024, Bukele bragged to supporters that he had "pulverized" organized opposition to his rule.

Bukele has called journalists "mercenaries" for the gangs and producers of "fake news." Which caused more Salvadorans to distrust news organizations. At the same time that Salvadorans' distrust of private news organizations was growing, the news media's operating costs were rising. Their operating costs rose after Bukele's legislators passed a law eliminating their tax exemptions for importing printing materials and equipment. Meanwhile, Bukele's government funneled public funds to state-run propaganda firms masquerading as "news" organizations. More and more Salvadorans started trusting these state-run mouthpieces for Bukele's disinformation. Bukele has followed Orbán's model of making it financially difficult for independent media organizations to survive.

Even after the president had pulverized the opposition and drowned Salvadorans in disinformation, an electoral dictatorship did not seem possible. El Salvador's constitution explicitly barred presidents from running for reelection. No matter. In September 2021, Bukele's allies on the Supreme Court ruled he could run for reelection. Bukele and his allies treated El Salvador's constitution as a draft to be edited at any time to extend their rule. Perhaps they'd learned from the longest-serving electoral dictator in Europe.

LINK 10

Fight for privileges provided by dictators instead of power provided by democracy.

//

Vladimir Putin

Russia

CHAPTER 118

State of the Federation

The twenty-first century's godfather of electoral dictators first seized power on December 31, 1999. The godfather: Vladimir Putin. He has given a number of important speeches during his reign. Few are as important as his nineteenth Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly, Russia's national legislature, on Thursday, February 29, 2024.

Roughly a thousand reporters, church leaders, government administrators, diplomats, and legislators gather at the Gostiny Dvor, or Old Merchant Court, in Moscow. Some attendees walk across the adjacent Red Square before entering this newly renovated building.

They sit there, mostly in dark suits. Waiting. Looking up at the massive stage. Flanked by two huge screens bordered in white.

The stage's white floor is five stairsteps up from the audience's level, the risers of the steps glowing light blue. The design, also found in mega-churches, creates an intimacy between speaker and audience.

On the left, the audience sees a stylized map of Russia, lit in blue on a white wall. At center, the audience sees the empty white podium, two Russian flags to its left, four to its right. Unlike President Bukele's outdoor speaking platform, no soldiers stand

erect. No soldiers are in sight within the most militarized European state.

On the upper front of the podium, the audience can glimpse Russia's coat of arms. This one is small. The podium rests in front of a dark blue section of a white wall. Above the blue backdrop, the audience sees the white wall stretching up to the ceiling. Adorning this white wall is another coat of arms. This one is massive. A coat of arms is like a national shield. All great replacement politicians project themselves as the embodiment of their nation's shield.

The double-headed eagle of Russia's coat of arms represents an apt relic of the fifteenth century. Russian monarch Ivan III, who ruled from 1462 to 1505—the second-longest reign in Russian history—first incorporated the double-headed eagle into Russian state heraldry. He aimed to show off his authority, imitating Roman emperors.

—

Almost in unison, everyone stands.

"President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin," someone announces.

President Putin emerges from an opening between the lighted map of Russia and the blue backdrop. A professional ovation. Not a wild one. Some people do not clap. They're too busy snapping cellphone pictures. Putin wears a black suit, black shoes, and a blue-and-red-checkered tie.

At the podium now, Putin nods up and down to acknowledge the applause. He sets his speech onto the podium. "Thank you," he says. "Please be seated." The crowd sits back down. Almost in unison.

Before sketching out Russia's current state and future, Putin engages in the great replacement of Russia's recent history with the skill of a novelist. "We supported our brothers and sisters; we

supported their decision to be with Russia," Putin says, "and this year marks the tenth anniversary of the legendary Russian Spring."

CHAPTER 119

Crimea

In the spring of 2014, Russian agents supported—if not organized—demonstrations among Russian speakers in southern and eastern Ukraine. The demonstrators supported pro-Russian Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych, who had been forced out of office for violently suppressing opposition to his rule. To Putin, those Russian speakers demonstrating on behalf of Yanukovych indicated that ethnic Russians in Ukraine were being persecuted. And Russia was obliged to protect them.

Russia invaded and occupied Crimea, a Ukrainian peninsula on the northern coast of the Black Sea. On March 16, 2014, the Russian invaders ordered the people of Crimea to vote on whether they supported Russia's annexation of Crimea. The people of Crimea went to the polls with Russian guns in their streets, with Russian disinformation inundating their minds, with independent media outlets banned, with journalists beaten into silence, with neo-Nazis sent in by Russia as "observers." Neo-Nazis like Béla Kovács, from Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary), a Hungarian great replacement party more extreme than Orbán's Fidesz. At the time, Kovács served as treasurer of the Alliance of European National Movements, which depicted Russia's invasion of Ukraine as a defense against Jewish world domination.

Putin announced that "more than 82 percent" of Crimeans voted, and "over 96 percent" supported Russia's annexation of Crimea. These results were likely as doctored as Bukele's homicide statistics. Polls showed that an overwhelming majority of Crimeans opposed Russia's annexation of their peninsula.

—

Back in 2014, Putin declared that Russians were being oppressed in Crimea. He announced that the Russian state needed to protect them. He invaded another nation to protect them, and then justified the colonial theft of Crimea with a "referendum." Putin stuck to Adolf Hitler's playbook for Germany's invasions of Austria (March 1938), Czechoslovakia (October 1938 and March 1939), and Poland (September 1939).

At a Nazi congress weeks before Germany's occupation of the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia, Hitler spoke about "the misery of the Sudeten Germans" as defying description. He said, "If these tortured creatures can find neither justice nor help by themselves, then they will receive both from us." In the summer of 1939, Nazi-controlled German newspapers ran fabricated stories of ethnic Germans in Poland being oppressed. Hitler had to "give a propagandistic cause for starting the war—never mind whether it be plausible or not," he informed his generals. "The victor shall not be asked, later on, whether we told the truth or not." Hitler did not tell the truth when he spoke to the German legislature on September 1, 1939, to justify invading Poland. "As in other German territories of the East, all German minorities living [in Danzig, Poland] have been ill-treated in the most distressing manner," Hitler said. "No great Power can with honour long stand by passively and watch such events."

No one protected Germans inside Germany from being ill treated by Nazi officials in the most distressing manner. Who has protected

Russians inside Russia from Putin?

CHAPTER 120

Privilege Over Power

The great irony of Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 is that it purported to protect ethnic Russians, who actually have more rights in Ukraine than in Putin's Russia. Teachers and professors in Russia have to teach "patriotic" classes or face penalties, including jail time. Internal passports restrict freedom of movement in Russia. Regulations in some regions restrict people from choosing where they want to live. Russian oligarchs have acquired vast holdings through limiting the ability of everyday Russians to purchase property. Russian corporations receive government contracts worth hundreds of millions of rubles and give collectively billions in rubles to the coffers of Yedinaya Rossiya (United Russia), Putin's party. By 2019, 3 percent of Russians owned 89 percent of the nation's financial assets.

Government corruption has been a problem in Ukraine but not on the level of Russia. Small and midsize business owners in Russia are extorted by the state for money or control of their companies. In 2010, Vladimir Romanov spent his birthday in jail. Police had raided the office of his mobile-phone service company, covered his surveillance cameras with washcloths, stole more than $300,000 in cash, and offered to release him if he paid a hefty sum. Romanov refused. The police turned to his wife, Margarita, telling her she'd go to prison and her child would be tossed in an orphanage until

she handed over $400,000. She did. Instead of releasing her husband, the police demanded another $500,000 to not bring more charges.

Religious freedom, trade unions, and abortion services are constrained in practice. In 2022, the average Russian household's net adjusted disposable income, or the money left over after taxes and other fees, was $19,546 per year, about two-thirds of the OECD average of $30,490. The life expectancy in Russia was seventy-three years in 2022, eight years lower than the OECD average. Russians express a lower rate of satisfaction with life when compared to the OECD average. Doubtless contributing to the dissatisfaction is that police officers can brutalize and kill Russians with impunity.

While losing many civil and human rights, ethnic Russians in Crimea gained *privileges* when Russia completed the annexation. The privilege of not being persecuted like Crimean Tatars, the indigenous ethnic group that had developed its own language and state in Crimea by the fifteenth century. Since the late eighteenth century, Russian nationalists have attempted to ethnically cleanse the Tatars from Crimea. In 1944, the Soviet Union ordered the removal of *all* Tatars to Siberia, the Urals, and Central Asia (more than 80 percent were sent to Uzbekistan). After the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, many Tatars made their way back to Crimea, only for their long-standing oppressors to assume control of Crimea again in 2014.

Ethnic Russians were not persecuted in Crimea before Russia annexed it. After the annexation, ethnic Russians gained the privilege of persecuting Tatars with near impunity. Authorities found the mutilated body of a lynched Crimean Tatar man the day before the "referendum."

Heterosexual ethnic Russians in Crimea have the privilege to love as they choose, to marry, to not give testimony in court against their spouses, to adopt kids, to organize politically, to visit each

other in hospitals, to see their way of loving and being in public. Queer ethnic Russians in Crimea endured the erosion of their already limited rights when Russia annexed the territory.

—

Eight months after Florida passed the Don't Say Gay bill, the Russian Federal Assembly passed an even more draconian Don't *Be* Gay bill on November 24, 2022. It outlawed as "LGBT propaganda" any expression or demonstration of queer behavior among adults in public spaces, online, in the media, pretty much everywhere in Russia. A 2013 law had already banned queer expressions and discussions anywhere children could be present.

Putin has pushed a great replacement theory that feminists, multiculturalists, and queer activists are striving to "destroy our traditional values." Chile's José Antonio Kast and Italy's Giorgia Meloni have both railed against the "gay lobby" or "LGBT lobby." Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has railed against "the LGBT imposition, which has become a global dictatorial tool" and "another threat that tries to weaken both the institution of the family and Islamic values."

In his 2022 presidential address, Putin argued that feminist, multicultural, and queer ways of loving and being were "attitudes" that the West has "been aggressively imposing on their countries, attitudes that are directly leading to degradation and degeneration, because they are contrary to human nature." Putin projected himself as the shield against this great replacement of "traditional" patriarchal, unicultural, heterosexual, and cisgender "values" in Russia. This replacement "is not going to happen," Putin said. "No one has ever succeeded in doing this, nor will they succeed now."

The Putin administration wanted the public to believe that in 2018 about two-thirds of Russians believed "in the existence of an organization" that is using the "propaganda" of homosexual

relations "to destroy" Russian "spiritual values." Russia's state-run Public Opinion Research Center also put out survey results that conveyed that only about a quarter of Russians thought that "people who advocate for the rights of members of sexual minorities in Russia do not pursue destructive goals."

Ethnic Russians in Crimea gained the privilege of not having their children excluded from schools, or segregated within schools into "Gypsy classes," as Roma children are. Ethnic Russians in Crimea gained the privilege of being less likely to be forced into the military and die on battlefields than ethnic groups from rural areas like Siberia and the Russian Far East or migrants from Central Asia. Compared to those ethnic groups, ethnic Russians in Crimea gained privileged access to jobs, housing, schools, and healthcare.

Russian migration lawyer Valentina Chupik has pointed out that migrants "who do not have Slavic facial features" face "humiliation and violence," which mostly "comes from Russian law enforcement rather than from ordinary people." Russian police have the power to raid homes, workplaces, mosques, sites of leisure, and community centers seeking immigrants. They can round them up. Brutalize them. Incarcerate them. Deport them. All the while rendering their very presence illegal. "In Russia, the world's fourth-largest migrant-receiving country, illegality functions in ways similar to American and European contexts, in that the terms *illegal* (*nelegal*) and *guest worker* (*gastarbaiter*) become proxies for blackness," anthropologist Lauren Woodard found. "Immigrants from Central Asia, as well as internal migrants from the North Caucasus," are "racialized as 'black.'"

Russia's majority groups are taught to crave the privilege of not being a Crimean Tatar, a Roma, a Muslim, a Jehovah's Witness, an immigrant from Central Asia, a migrant from the Caucasus, a queer person. Across the world, great replacement politicians convince people to crave the privilege of being a member of the ethnic majority, of being Christian, of being a citizen, of being male, of

being cisgender, of being heterosexual, of being White. Crave the privilege of being deemed superior. Crave the privilege of embodying the nation. Crave the privilege of being identified as patriots even after invading legislatures. Crave the privilege of being on the higher end of inequities, of being on the living end of hate. Crave the privilege of inflicting violence on disadvantaged groups and narrating this terror as self-defense.

Great replacement politicians persuade everyday people to crave an inequitable dictatorship where they have limited power but more privileges than others, rather than an equitable democracy where they have expansive power but no privileges over others. Great replacement politicians do this by knotting the privileges individuals receive to their group identity. That is, they bond the very *being* of persons to their privileged identity in order to convince members of these privileged groups that to lose their privileges is to lose their very being, lose their very way of life, lose their life.

These messages are utterly dehumanizing even as members of privileged groups are told they are the most superior humans. In this dehumanizing sense, who they are is not *who* they are. Who they are is *what* they have. What they have is the *privileges* they have. The privilege to live longer than others. The privilege to have a better livelihood than others. The privilege to have more electoral power than others. The privilege to have more freedom than others. That's what it means, they are told, to *be* White or male or Christian or heterosexual or Hindu or another ethnic majority. They are supposed to crave their privileges at all costs—or rather, despite the costs to their power. They are supposed to support those dictatorships that protect their privileges at the cost of their power. It all amounts to the final link in the chain of ideas: fighting for privileges provided by dictators instead of power provided by democracy.

Dictators like Putin.

CHAPTER 121

Siege

Vladimir Putin was born in Leningrad, or what is now Saint Petersburg, on October 7, 1952. Spiridon Putin, his grandfather, cooked for Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin. A longtime Marxist activist and intellectual, Lenin led the October Revolution in 1917, which overthrew the capitalist provisional government. Lenin established a one-party communist state, heading the Communist Party until his death in 1924. Joseph Stalin succeeded Lenin. By the 1930s, Stalin had established a conventional dictatorship. Stalin died in 1953. Putin was five months old.

Putin's father, Vladimir Spiridonovich Putin, was the cook's son. Putin's mother, Maria Ivanovna Putina, worked in a factory. The couple had three boys. Vladimir never met his two older brothers. The oldest brother passed away before turning one. The second brother, weakened by starvation, died from diphtheria in 1942, during the Nazi siege of his hometown of Leningrad. Hitler's troops bombarded or starved to death more than one million Russians during the 872-day siege, the deadliest in human history. Putin's father lost five of his six brothers in the war, and his mother's older brothers died on the Eastern Front. Nazi troops occupying the Tver region, northwest of Moscow, killed Putin's grandmother. Putin's mother survived off military food rations Putin's father gave her when she visited him in the hospital. After working in the Soviet

navy before the war, and prompted by Germany's invasion, Putin's father joined the Soviet Union's secret police, the NKVD. A war injury left Putin's father with a lifelong limp.

The Soviet Union expanded its empire after World War II, controlling most of Eastern Europe and parts of Central Europe, including its new puppet state, East Germany. Perhaps with an eye toward working in communist East Germany, Putin studied German in middle and high school. With an eye toward spy work, in 1970 he enrolled in law school at Leningrad State University. He finished in 1975 and worked at the Committee for State Security, popularly known as the KGB. Putin walked in his father's footsteps. The KGB succeeded his father's NKVD.

For decades, the KGB discredited and destabilized Western European and U.S. enemies. Through planting disinformation. Through front groups that sowed chaos and engaged in assassinations. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, Putin returned home. In 1991, after sixteen years with the KGB, he resigned to work as a political adviser, and later deputy mayor, for the first elected mayor of Leningrad (soon to be restored to its original name, Saint Petersburg). In 1996, Putin moved to Moscow to work in the administration of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. He climbed up the ranks. In July 1998, Yeltsin appointed Putin the director of the KGB's domestic successor, the Federal Security Service, or FSB. Yeltsin started to groom the unassuming Putin to be his heir. On December 31, 1999, Yeltsin shocked the world when he announced his resignation. He named the unknown Putin acting president.

Putin would give nineteen Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly over the next quarter century. His address in 2024 was closely watched as his 2022 invasion continued to ripple around the world.

CHAPTER 122

Sanction Inflation

"And today, when our Motherland is defending its sovereignty and security, defending the lives of our compatriots in Donbass and Novorossiya, our citizens are playing the decisive role in this righteous struggle," Vladimir Putin says from the white podium on February 29, 2024.

Putin is speaking about Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which began on February 24, 2022. Two years later, Russia still occupies nearly a fifth of the country. Roughly half a million troops and civilians have died. Approximately eleven million Ukrainians have fled their homes or their country.

Practically every human being on earth faced the economic consequences of Putin's invasion. Inflation, or the rate at which prices for goods and services rise over time, had held steady in the second decade of the twenty-first century. In early 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic dropped oil prices and global demand for goods and services, thereby dropping inflation rates. But when countries reopened, demand and oil prices rebounded while disruptions in supply spread. Greater demand and less supply and likely corporate greed caused inflation rates to rise significantly around the world in 2021.

After invading Ukraine, Russian soldiers blocked Ukraine from using its Black Sea ports to export sunflower oil and grains like

wheat and maize. At the same time, the European Union slapped sanctions on Russia, refusing to import Russian oil and coal. With food supply down from Ukraine, with energy supply down from Russia, prices soared yet again. Since food and energy prices dictate the prices of other goods and services, global inflation rates rose in 2022 to levels unreached since the 1990s. When inflation started to cool in 2023, that meant prices were not rising as quickly, but remained high.

Consequently, low- and middle-income people worldwide struggled to make ends meet. Putin denied his invasion of Ukraine had affected global inflation. Instead, he blamed the sanctions.

Great replacement politicians had another crisis on their hands. So they returned to their now-timeworn playbook. Blame the crisis on their political opponents. Connect the crisis to the great replacement. Present themselves as protectors. These politicians followed this playbook during the Great Recession, migration crisis, terror attacks, COVID-19 pandemic, and "crime wave." And again they followed it during the global inflation crisis.

—

Great replacement politicians usually benefit wherever they are not ruling during an inflation crisis. A study of fifty-seven "inflation shocks" since 1970 showed that voters thrust opposition parties into power about three out of four times in elections that came within two years of the shock. However, "voters who perceive the economy as [the] most important problem are less likely to opt for the populist radical right than people who perceive immigration or even other issues as most important," political scientists Take Sipma and Carl C. Berning noted. "The wealthier a country, the less people consider the economy as [the] most important problem." Which likely explains why great replacement parties are "relatively popular" in wealthier countries in the Americas, Europe, and South

Asia. Sipma and Berning showed that "populist radical right" (what I call great replacement) parties can mobilize voters focused on the economy *if* "they can successfully link it to other issues, such as immigration."

During Donald Trump's successful campaign for U.S. president in 2024, he repeatedly connected immigration to inflation. "Just a few short years ago under my presidency, we had the most secure border and best economy in the history of our country…. We had no inflation, soaring incomes…and the world was at peace," Trump said upon accepting the Republican nomination on July 18, 2024. "Today, our cities are flooded with illegal aliens. Americans are being squeezed out of the labor force and their jobs are taken…. Inflation has wiped out the life savings of our citizens, and forced the middle class into a state of depression and despair."

Hungary's Viktor Orbán made his links, too. "Alongside migration, which is gradually becoming a permanent feature, two new enemies and two new dangers are lurking: one is war, and the other is inflation," Orbán said. Alice Weidel's AfD used the inflation crisis to connect antiracism to elitism. "It is easy to talk about 'diversity' and 'cosmopolitanism' when you drive to work in a company car and do not have to fear inflation." On January 17, 2024, the AfD posted: "inflation continues" as "millions" of Germans "must pay even more into a healthcare system that is being unashamedly exploited by pseudo-refugees and social migrants." The post included a photo of a doctor examining a Black man. The caption began: "25 BILLION EURO COSTS FOR 'REFUGEES.' "

All of this worked. One 2023 survey found that about seven in ten German respondents felt "abandoned by politicians in this crisis." A 2024 survey of German youth found "a clear shift to the right" among fourteen-to-twenty-nine-year-olds and a clear rise in AfD's popularity. Weidel's AfD won its first state election in party history in 2024: the central German state of Thuringia. The AfD

came within 1.4 percentage points of winning the eastern German state of Saxony.

In the 2024 German youth survey, more than half of respondents expressed concerns about "expensive housing." Another study revealed that the rising cost of rent significantly increased support for the AfD among lower-income Germans. This is because "higher rents constitute a significant threat to their social status," as political scientists Tarik Abou-Chadi, Denis Cohen, and Thomas Kurer explained. Great replacement parties hunt voters who feel their economic, social, or cultural status is being threatened. Few issues mark one's status quite like housing—one's place of *being*. "Far-right parties prosper when they can exploit the social gaps that emerge out of underinvestment and inadequate government planning…and when they can blame outsiders," said Balakrishnan Rajagopal, an MIT legal scholar and the UN's Special Rapporteur on the Right to Adequate Housing. "That's the situation many EU countries are now in. The housing crisis is no longer affecting just low earners, migrants, single-parent families, but the middle classes. This is the social issue of the twenty-first century."

Perhaps that's why Geert Wilders blamed immigrants for worsening the housing crisis in the Netherlands—and, echoing the AfD, for worsening the inflation crisis. "Groceries €1500 more expensive, €6500 for energy costs, water costs up, health costs up," Wilders posted on August 10, 2022. "And in the meantime" the country's leaders "are throwing away billions of euros on asylum, Ukraine, Africa, etc. Sick choices by bad politicians." A study on the "geographies of discontent" in Italy found that "public service deprivation, defined as reduced access to public services, plays an important role" in generating support for "far-right" parties.

Great replacement parties can cut public services and blame immigrants. The more voters suffer, the more they support the great replacement parties behind their suffering, and the more they hate the immigrants suffering worse than them. If this is not a

political salve, then I don’t know what is. And there is no end in sight in Europe. Great replacement politicians may be on the cusp of taking over the European Union.

CHAPTER 123

Patriots for Europe

The high cost of living and inflation emerged as the top issues for voters in the European Union parliamentary elections in June 2024. Putin's firehose of disinformation boosted the great replacement parties. France's National Rally, Brothers of Italy, Hungary's Fidesz, and the Freedom Party of Austria all won the most seats for their respective nations in the EU elections. Belgium's Flemish Interest won the most votes and tied with two other parties for the most seats in the EU parliament. Spain's Vox finished third, its best EU election performance to date. Portugal's Chega and Luxembourg's Alternative Democratic Reform Party seized their first seats in the European Parliament. The Party for Freedom in the Netherlands and Alliance for the Union of Romanians both finished second in their countries.

A month after the European Parliament elections, the Identity and Democracy group dissolved. Rising in its place was a group with a more fitting name for great replacement parties on the other side of the pandemic and trucker convoys and insurrections: Patriots for Europe. Hungary's Viktor Orbán, along with Herbert Kickl of Austria's Freedom Party and Andrej Babiš of Czechia's ANO (Yes), announced the new group at a joint press conference on June 30, 2024. They solicited other great replacement parties to join. They later adopted Orbán's rallying cry, "Make Europe Great Again."

On July 5, 2024, Geert Wilders's party joined Patriots for Europe. "We protect our Judeo-Christian heritage," Wilders tweeted. Days later, Marine Le Pen's National Rally signed on, formalizing a coalition between two of the most powerful great replacement politicians in Europe: Le Pen and Orbán. National Rally president Jordan Bardella became the president of Patriots for Europe. Kinga Gál, a longtime member of European Parliament for Fidesz, took second in command. Joining as well were Italy's Lega, Belgium's Flemish Interest, Portugal's Chega, Spain's Vox, the Danish People's Party, and Latvija Pirmajā Vietā (Latvia First). The Patriots for Europe control eighty-four seats in the 2024–2029 European Parliament, making it the third-largest group behind the European People's Party and the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats.

Italy's Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni kept her Brothers of Italy in the European Conservatives and Reformists group, which amassed six fewer seats than the Patriots for Europe. The ECR's seventy-eight seats were good for the fourth-largest group in the European Parliament. The ECR's and Meloni's staunch support of NATO and Ukraine distinguished it from the Orbán/Le Pen group. The Patriots for Europe have closer ties to Vladimir Putin.

The party neither Meloni nor Le Pen wanted in their group: Germany's AfD. Weeks before the 2024 European Parliament elections, Maximilian Krah, the AfD's lead candidate, spoke to the Italian daily *La Repubblica*. "I will never say that anyone who wore an SS uniform was automatically a criminal," Krah said about the main operators of Nazi extermination camps.

Perhaps Krah wanted to defend the honor of his grandfather, who joined the Nazi Party on May 1, 1937. Or maybe Krah manufactured a controversy to distract reporters and the public from looking into something far worse—another form of orchestrated distancing that Trump has mastered in the U.S. Three weeks prior, authorities arrested Krah's assistant, Jian Guo,

suspecting him of espionage for China. On the same day in April 2024, authorities charged a former parliamentary researcher from the UK's Conservative Party with the same offense. Prosecutors were also investigating Krah for being a paid informant for China and Russia.

Despite—or maybe because of—Krah's SS comments and the secret "remigration" meeting held in Potsdam the previous November, the AfD *gained* four seats in the European Parliament in the June 2024 elections. The AfD's fifteen seats were the second most of any party in Germany.

And yet Marine Le Pen decided to orchestrate distance from the AfD. She said on French radio, "It's time to make a clean break with this movement."

Weidel searched for new allies. On July 10, 2024, her party announced the formation of a new EU Parliament group, Europe of Sovereign Nations. The AfD founded the group with Tomio Okamura's Freedom and Direct Democracy in Czechia. "We will fight against the Green Deal, migration, the Islamization of Europe and we want the return of powers from Brussels back to the national European states," Okamura stated on X. Bulgaria's Revival and France's Reconquest came aboard, along with a few other fringe parties. Weidel let it be known: there would be "no antisemites" in the new group that targeted "globalists" in all its antisemitic inflections. Islamophobes apparently were welcome.

If Le Pen, Weidel, and Meloni decide to one day unite their three groups and form one supergroup, then great replacement parties would have, at current count, the second-largest group in the European Parliament, one seat shy of the largest group, the European People's Party. Control of the European Union could be on the horizon for great replacement parties in 2029. In the meantime, these parties—including one founded by Nazis—keep gaining domestic control of European nations.

CHAPTER 124

Pretty Savvy

After doing so well in the EU parliamentary elections, the Freedom Party won Austria's parliamentary election on September 29, 2024, seizing fifty-seven seats, a twenty-six-seat increase from the 2019 election. After the improbable victory, FPÖ leader Herbert Kickl reminisced about "how far we've come." As a party, they had come from being founded by former Nazis in 1956 and dismissed for years, to renovating their Nazism over decades, to becoming the largest party, on the cusp of ruling. In North Macedonia, the VMRO-DPMNE and its coalition regained control of the country's presidency and parliament, seven years after the party incited the invasion of parliament. In 2024, Portugal's Chega, Belgium's Flemish Interest, and Bulgaria's Revival all won the largest number of seats in parliamentary elections in their respective parties' history.

José Antonio Kast's Republican Party made some electoral gains during the 2024 Chilean regional elections, especially at the local level. But Kast had his eye on the presidential elections on November 16, 2025. President Gabriel Boric was not eligible to run for reelection, due to constitutional term limits. For all of 2024, Providencia mayor Evelyn Matthei led in the polls. Matthei hailed from the Independent Democratic Union, Kast's old party, which had

been founded by an associate of Pinochet. Second to Matthei in the polls among the eventual nominees: José Antonio Kast.

During India's general election that began on April 19, 2024, the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party and Prime Minister Narendra Modi were vulnerable because they were incumbents managing an inflation crisis. So Modi linked the economic pain of India's Hindus to his political opponents, accusing them of providing preferential treatment to India's Muslims. Modi's party had won an outright majority in India's legislature in every election since it seized power in 2014. Not this time. But its political coalition did obtain the most votes, ensuring Modi received a rare third term as India's prime minister.

In early June 2024, when the votes for Le Pen's National Rally were more than double those for Emmanuel Macron's Renaissance party in the European Parliament elections, President Macron called snap legislative elections. In the first round of voting, held June 30, 2024, National Rally earned the most votes. In the second round a week later, her political opponents united and rallied their voters, dropping her political bloc to third and providing a rare (and fleeting) bright spot for an anti–Le Pen coalition. But those snap elections showed that Le Pen's party was coming. After this election, she appeared poised to become the president of France in 2027.

New great replacement coalitions attempted to break through in new countries. After being shut out of the European Parliament yet again and winning only six local seats in 2024, three of Ireland's great replacement parties—Ireland First, the National Party, and Irish People—united with independent great replacement candidates to form the National Alliance. They wanted to improve their chances in the parliamentary elections on November 29. Two of its "shared principles": that "Ireland belongs to the Irish" and that Ireland should "house the Irish not the world." None of its candidates were elected to the Irish parliament and the alliance

dissolved. But great replacement parties grew their vote share in the national election. Two of their candidates were elected to local councils as "the first-ever members of registered far-right parties to hold office in Ireland," reported *The Journal,* an online newspaper in Ireland. One of those candidates, Patrick Quinlan, the deputy leader of the National Party, protested against "asylum seeker accommodation which he described as plantations, an Irish version of the racist Great Replacement conspiracy theory," *The Journal* also reported.

In the nearby UK, Nigel Farage vied in 2024 for a seat in the House of Commons after losing his previous seven elections to be MP. His Reform UK's campaign message: "Rishi CAN'T stop the boats. Starmer WON'T stop the boats. Only Reform WILL stop the boats." Farage scolded the Conservative Party for blaming inflation on Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and his message was boosted by Russian trolls and bots. Voters elected him to the British Parliament for the first time on July 4, 2024. The Labour Party won in a landslide, snatching 411 out of 650 seats. Keir Starmer replaced Rishi Sunak as prime minister. The Conservative Party lost 251 seats. Reform UK secured only 5 seats.

Farage shook up his party's leadership, putting his old great replacement financier Richard Tice back in the fold alongside a new great replacement financier. Millionaire Zia Yusuf made the largest donation to Reform UK during the 2024 campaign. His parents had arrived in the UK from Sri Lanka forty years earlier, when immigration levels were low and immigrants "could assimilate comfortably," Yusuf wrote in an op-ed. But today "we have lost control of our borders." After expressing the past-good-immigrant versus present-bad-immigrant dichotomy, he moved to his proximity denial. "Unlike most who assail Farage, I am a Muslim of subcontinental descent. I know what Islamophobia and racism look like…. My sincere view is that Nigel loves his country and wants what's best for all Britons, regardless of race or religion." In a

subsequent interview, Yusuf expressed his goal: to make Nigel Farage prime minister in 2029.

Farage had the same goals. He announced a plan to "build a mass national movement over the course of the next few years" outside of the Conservative Party. The Tories would go on to shake up their party leadership too, naming their first Black woman party leader, Kemi Badenoch, on November 2, 2024. Weeks before her appointment, the daughter of immigrants said on BBC radio that immigration "numbers matter but culture matters more." On a December 2024 visit to Washington, D.C., Badenoch welcomed "culture warrior" as a label. "If we don't defend our culture, who will?"

—

Vladimir Putin has said the same.

Nearly every great replacement theorist or politician has praised or defended Putin over the years—perhaps because many of them have secretly received Russian funding. If Elon Musk is the largest single great replacement financier in the world, then Russia may be the world's largest state financier of great replacement parties. In 2022, the U.S. State Department revealed that Russia had secretly spent at least $300 million over the previous eight years funding foreign political parties, politicians, and political operatives. And then there is the "over the table" funding from Russian banks, like loans to Marine Le Pen's National Rally. "We don't rely on American banks. We have all the funding we need out of Russia," said Eric Trump, speaking about the Trump Organization in 2013, two years before Trump announced his run for president.

In 2022, Trump described Putin's invasion of Ukraine as "genius." A week before the invasion, Bolsonaro visited Moscow as Brazil's president. He sat close to Putin and told reporters, "We are in solidarity with Russia." Hungary's Viktor Orbán has been Putin's

"closest ally among European Union leaders," according to one report. Nigel Farage named Putin as the world leader he most admired. In a reprise of the August 2017 Unite the Right Rally where marchers chanted, "You will not replace us," a mob of great replacement soldiers in Charlottesville, Virginia, in October of that year, chanted, "Russia is our friend. The South will rise again."

And then there's India's Narendra Modi. After Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Prime Minister Modi increased India's imports from Russia in response to Western sanctions.

And then there's El Salvador's Nayib Bukele. Back when Russia annexed Crimea in 2014, President Bukele replayed Putin's misrepresentation of Ukrainian nationalists. "In Ukraine, pro-Russians hold elections while fascists shoot at them," Bukele posted.

Af D state lawmakers visited Russia to observe rigged elections. After Putin announced his invasion, the Af D opposed sending weapons to Ukraine *and* placing sanctions on Russia.

In France, Éric Zemmour longed for a French Vladimir Putin, one who "takes a country that was an empire, that could have been a great power, and tries to restore it." Zemmour has declared in a book that "Ukraine does not exist."

In January 2017, Le Pen proposed "an alliance between the United States, France and Russia in the fight against Islamists." After Russia's unpopular invasion of Ukraine in 2022, Le Pen maintained support for Ukraine's right to defend itself, but she opposed sending offensive weapons to Ukraine or placing energy sanctions on Russia. Giorgia Meloni and Geert Wilders, too, fawned over Putin as a leader up until the invasion of Ukraine. That fateful morning.

CHAPTER 125

Genocide

Shortly before 6 A.M. on February 24, 2022, Putin addressed the citizens of Russia. He sat at a solid wooden desk, flanked by a Russian flag and a Russian coat of arms. A number of wired telephones rested on his desk.

Putin pointed to "the eastward expansion of NATO." He reeled off NATO's use of military power in different countries, conveying that Russia could be—really would be—next.

In the "territories adjacent to Russia, which I have to note is our historical land, a hostile 'anti-Russia' is taking shape," Putin said.

Truly, Putin imagined the entire land of Ukraine to be historical Russian land. To Putin, Ukraine the nation was a historical and cultural illusion, like Ukrainian nationality, like Ukrainian culture. His denial of Ukrainian nationality—to suit his political ends—resembled the denial of pre-Christian Europe and the denial of the long-standing presence of European Muslims—to suit the political ends of Le Pen, Orbán, Wilders, and their ilk. But the long history of Ukrainians fighting for independence remained undeniable, much like the long history of non-Christians in Europe.

After the Russian Revolution toppled the Russian Empire, which included Ukraine, in 1917, Ukrainians waged a war against their colonizers. Ukrainians declared independence. But the new Bolsheviks recolonized the land, proclaimed it the Ukrainian Soviet

Socialist Republic, and incorporated it into the Soviet Union, which was formed in 1922. Ukrainians did not declare their independence again until the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991.

—

To justify his invasion in 2022, Putin charged Ukrainian authorities with committing a "genocide of the millions of people who live" in Ukraine's Donbass region—a flat-out lie. Putin labeled those Ukrainians fighting off Russia to maintain their independence as "far-right nationalists and neo-Nazis." He alleged "the leading NATO countries are supporting" them. Putin warned that these NATO countries "will undoubtedly…kill innocent people just as members of the punitive units of Ukrainian nationalists and Hitler's accomplices did during" World War II.

Putin probably hoped his Russian listeners did not know the nuances of Ukrainian history. Ukrainian nationalists initially viewed Nazi invaders as liberators from Soviet *colonizers.* Many Ukrainian nationalists profiled Soviet colonizers as Jews, blamed Jews for Soviet atrocities, and were more than willing to collaborate in the Holocaust, hunting down Jews, massacring them, and transporting them to Nazi killing sites. Nazi officials raised Ukrainian hopes of sovereignty through collaborating with Ukrainian nationalists at the beginning of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. But the carrot transformed into the stick, as it usually does. After driving out the Soviets, the Nazis became the new colonizers of Ukraine—the new force quashing the Ukrainian national movement and killing innocent people.

During World War II, Nazi soldiers exterminated Ukrainian *and* Russian Jews, mass-murdered Ukrainian *and* Russian prisoners of war. Hitler aimed to clear lands of Ukraine and the rest of the western Soviet Union for extra "living space" for Germans

(*Lebensraum*), while enslaving those Ukrainians and Russians who survived.

Jews were the most likely to suffer at the genocidal hands of Nazis. But no nationality suffered a larger absolute number of losses than Soviets. About twenty-seven million Soviet lives were lost during the war. Hitler heralded his invasion of the Soviet Union as a war of annihilation *and* a war "to save European civilization and culture." In *Mein Kampf,* Hitler saw "in Russian Bolshevism…the attempt undertaken by the Jews in the twentieth century to achieve world domination." A century later, Putin wanted Russians to see "NATO countries" as pursuing world domination, and that's why they have "taken Ukraine hostage and are trying to use it against our country and our people."

CHAPTER 126

Our Tasks

In 1941, Hitler announced his military operation in Russia. He said that "for over ten years Jewish Bolshevist rulers had been endeavoring from Moscow to set not only Germany but all Europe aflame." Eighty-one years later, Putin said in announcing his military operation: "The purpose of this operation is to protect people who, for eight years now, have been facing humiliation and genocide perpetrated by the Kiev regime." Putin spelled out his goal: "to demilitarize and denazify Ukraine."

But "denazify" was pure distraction. Putin wanted to destroy the Ukrainians' sense of a national and cultural identity, which, obviously, is not neo-Nazism. "Denazification will inevitably include de-Ukrainization—the rejection of the large-scale artificial inflation of the ethnic component in the self-identification of the population," wrote Timofey Sergeytsev, a state-sanctioned Russian propagandist.

Putin should have de-neo-nazified the Kremlin, beginning with himself. He has followed some of the ideological footsteps of Hitler, whether he admires Hitler the man or not. Putin's favorite philosopher, Ivan Alexandrovich Ilyin, did admire Hitler, though. In 2014, the Kremlin sent high-ranking Russian officials a compilation of short essays, *Our Tasks.* Published two years after the philosopher's death in 1954, the anthology contained Ilyin's essays on a post-communist Russia.

Russian Bolsheviks had exiled Ilyin and other anti-communist intellectuals from Russia on Lenin's orders. Ilyin visited Italy in 1925, studied Mussolini's fascism, and grieved that Russians had not created it. In his essay "On Fascism," which has been included in some editions of *Our Tasks,* Ilyin praised fascism as a necessary "concentration of state-protective forces." He believed "the healthy forces of the people will always concentrate in a protective-dictatorial direction. This was the case in ancient Rome, this was the case in the new Europe, and this will continue to be the case." Ilyin wrote that "fascism was right since it proceeded from a healthy national-patriotic feeling."

Ilyin greeted Hitler's ascension in Germany. Even after all the devastation Hitler brought to bear on Soviets, Ilyin did not stop believing fascism could make his country great again after the war. Putin has repeatedly quoted Ilyin in his speeches, including on September 30, 2022, when he announced Russia's annexation of four regions in Ukraine. Ilyin, too, opposed Ukraine's right to exist.

—

Seventeen minutes after Putin insisted, in his address of February 24, 2022, that "we do not intend to impose anything on anyone by force," Russian missiles struck near Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital. Artillery rained down on Kharkiv, near the Russian border. Explosions rocked other cities. Russian military vehicles crossed into Ukraine.

On the day Putin announced the invasion, more than 2,500 articles about Ukraine referenced Nazism, continuing a steady trend in how Russian media treated Ukraine between 2014 and 2022. In other words, as the Russian military invaded Ukraine with troops and bombs, Russian propagandists invaded Russian minds with the great replacement of history.

Putin's classifying Ukrainian nationalists in the twenty-first century as neo-Nazis relied on the great replacement of Russia's historic—and continued—colonization of Ukraine. Putin has said to Russians, to the world, that since Nazi Germans and Ukrainian nationalists have historically been the enemies of Russia, then Ukrainian nationalists must be neo-Nazis today. And Russia has a right to defend itself.

—

The year after Putin invaded Ukraine, Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu ordered his country's invasion of Gaza on the basis of Israel's right to defend itself. While the attacks on Russians that Putin described were imaginary, on October 7, 2023, the militant wing of Gaza's ruling faction, Hamas, executed the deadliest and ghastliest attack on Israel in the nation's seventy-five-year history. In a single day, Hamas soldiers and several other militant groups murdered about 1,200 Israelis and non-Israelis and took 251 people as hostages, bringing some back to the horrific underground tunnels of Gaza.

Netanyahu rejected appeals for his armed forces to exercise restraint and to conduct a "limited and targeted operation" to weaken Hamas's military capacity while not harming Palestinian civilians in Gaza, who mostly opposed Hamas's attack. Instead, Netanyahu's armed forces accused Hamas of hiding behind civilians, hiding inside homes, refugee camps, hospitals, schools, libraries, universities, mosques, churches—and bombed it all, bombed them all. Before the ceasefire on October 10, 2025, Israeli troops, bombs, drones, and explosives had slaughtered at least 67,869 Palestinians, about half of whom were women and children, and displaced nearly all of the strip's 2.2 million people. Already in the summer of 2024, researchers writing to *The Lancet* medical journal estimated a death toll of "up to 186,000 or even more" when accounting for

indirect factors like disease. Thus Israeli troops directly or indirectly killed as many as 8 percent of the entire population of Palestinians in Gaza over the first nine months of the war. A case of genocide, according to genocide scholars.

The global outrage over Putin's war crimes against Ukrainians started to be matched, if not eclipsed, by the global outrage over Netanyahu's war crimes against Palestinians. While Netanyahu largely portrayed Israel as a neutral party in Putin's war in Ukraine—not supplying the Ukrainian army with weapons, not sanctioning Russia—Putin has been outspoken in his condemnation of Israel's war in Gaza. Hanna Notte, a Russian foreign policy expert, speculated that Putin sought to align himself with "constituencies across the Middle East and even beyond—in the Global South… where the Palestinian cause continues to resonate."

The Palestinian cause resonated indeed. Due in no small part to videos and images and stories of bombs and shootings and starvation circulating worldwide. Due in no small part to Netanyahu and his allies' rejection of Palestine's right to exist. Due in no small part to the dehumanization of Palestinians.

CHAPTER 127

Human Animals

"**Now we all** have one common goal—erasing the Gaza Strip from the face of the earth." This goal was articulated on the day of the Hamas attack by Likud leader Nissim Vaturi, a deputy speaker of Israel's legislature, the Knesset. After a month of Israel's nonstop bombing, Vaturi asked, "Who's left in Gaza? Are there citizens?" Nope. "There are only tunnels, Hamas, and accursed terrorists who murdered children and are holding children hostage."

Two days after the Hamas attack, on October 9, 2023, Yoav Gallant, a Likud leader and Israel's defense minister, announced "a complete siege on the Gaza Strip." He said: "There will be no electricity, no food, no fuel, everything is closed. We are fighting human animals and we are acting accordingly." During the Nazi siege of Leningrad, SS head Heinrich Himmler spoke to high-ranking SS leaders on October 4, 1943. "What happens to a Russian…does not interest me in the slightest," Himmler said. "We Germans, who are the only people in the world who have a decent attitude towards animals, will also assume a decent attitude towards these human animals."

In a radio interview weeks after Israel's invasion of Gaza, Amihai Eliyahu, the Israeli minister of heritage and a leader in the Jewish Power party, declared there were "no noncombatants" in Gaza. Israel "must find ways for Gazans that are more painful than death,"

Eliyahu later said. In the U.S., Republican Ohio Congressman Max Miller expressed no qualms about Gaza getting "eviscerated" and being turned "into a parking lot."

At a conference in March 2024, Rabbi Eliyahu Mali distinguished "between the civilian population in other places and the civilian population in Gaza." This leader of a Zionist religious school averred, without evidence, that "95 to 98 percent are interested in our demise." Meaning he expressed a genocide theory, that almost all Palestinians were interested in annihilating Jews. Genocide theory—which paints a subjugated political group as wholly determined to bring about the genocide or extinction of a ruling group—remains the most extreme great replacement theory. Genocide theory is behind the radicalization of great replacement soldiers—whether alone or in militaries—who are led to believe they are taking life to stop the taking of life. "According to the scriptures, 'You shall not let a soul remain alive,' " Mali recited. "If you don't kill them, they will kill you."

And then there spoke Netanyahu. "You must remember what Amalek has done to you, says our Holy Bible," Netanyahu proclaimed on October 28, 2023, in an address to Israeli Jews. In the First Book of Samuel, the ancient Israelites warred against the Amalekites. In the scriptures, God commanded the king of ancient Israel, Saul, to kill every Amalekite. Saul disobeyed but did execute Agag, the Amalekite king. Centuries later, a descendant of the Amalekite king nearly exterminated the ancient Israelites living under Persian rule, according to the biblical tales. In linking Hamas —and ultimately all Palestinians—to the ancient Amalekites of biblical lore, in linking twenty-first-century Israelis to the ancient Israelites of biblical lore, the lesson is unmistakable to Israeli Jews: if Palestinians are not fully eradicated, then they will grow in numbers and eradicate all Israeli Jews. A genocide theory.

In 1980, Rabbi Israel Hess referenced the Amalek tale in "Genocide: A Commandment of the Torah," a barefaced

rationalization for annihilating Palestinians. In 1994, Baruch Goldstein identified Palestinians as modern-day Amalekites. He massacred twenty-nine Palestinians while they prayed in Hebron, Palestine. Itamar Ben-Gvir, Netanyahu's national security minister, had displayed a portrait of this great replacement soldier in his living room.

Netanyahu's Likud party and its coalition partners do not just dehumanize Palestinians and devalue their lives in Gaza to justify their genocide. They also dehumanize and devalue Jews in Gaza and Israel and beyond. They position Jews who oppose Zionism, who condemn the Israeli genocide of Palestinians, who champion Muslim and Jewish solidarity and equality, as "self-hating" Jews. Those who devalue outsiders end up devaluing insiders. Bigotry is a gun that routinely backfires.

Take Simcha Rothman, a Knesset legislator and leader of Religious Zionism, a party in Netanyahu's ruling coalition. "Jews murdered in the West Bank are more important than Jews murdered in Gaza, because the former are right-wing settlers and the latter are left-wing kibbutz members," Rothman said in November 2023. Some Likud party leaders blamed their political opponents in Israel for the Hamas attack. "The main reason we have reached this situation" is "the crimes of the left over all the years," said attorney Shai Galili, an internal auditor for Netanyahu's Likud. "In any other country in the world, not in the suicidal democracy called Israel, such people would stand trial for the crime of treason." In many ways, great replacement theory frames democracy as suicidal for Jews and White Christians.

Moreover, Netanyahu's coalition government attempted to create an element of electoral dictatorship in January 2023. Likud and its coalition partners tried to wrest power away from the Israeli Supreme Court through reforms aimed at altering the process for judicial appointments and curtailing the court's ability to review (and block) the policies of Netanyahu's government agencies. After

the introduction of these proposals, Israelis poured into the streets to protest and hold strikes. The Knesset ultimately passed a bill abolishing the Supreme Court's power to block government decisions, which the Supreme Court later struck down.

But the Supreme Court did not stop the Netanyahu administration's secret troll farm, funded to the tune of $2 million and executed by a political marketing firm. Hundreds of Israeli trolls—or "digital soldiers," as they were called—masqueraded as Americans on X, Facebook, and Instagram. These trolls posted their support for the Israeli war in Gaza, focusing its pressure campaign on U.S. lawmakers to urge them to keep funding and arming the Israeli military. And yet Netanyahu hardly needed trolls to attract the war support of great replacement politicians.

CHAPTER 128

Middle of an Ocean

The day after Hamas's attack, Geert Wilders posted on X, "The response of Israel must be tough." A year later, on October 3, 2024, Wilders argued in a commentary on *Breitbart* that "European patriots" should support Israel because "it shows us how vital it is for a people to have its own nation-state with strong and guarded borders…. What we need today is Zionism for the nations of Europe." Renaud Camus seemed to agree. "See how Israel resisted alone and for so long in the middle of an ocean raging with hatred, its people isolated among ten or twenty hostile peoples with infinitely larger populations," he wrote.

The political consultant George Birnbaum advised both Viktor Orbán and Benjamin Netanyahu in their rise to power: Netanyahu in 1996, Orbán in 2010. Within a week of Hamas's attacks, after Israel had started bombing Gaza, Orbán slammed the demonstrations to stop the bombing as "sympathy rallies supporting the terrorists."

The Danish People's Party wanted voters to see Hamas in Muslim immigrants. "Violent attacks, anti-Semitism, Islamist propaganda and a society in disarray. That is what Muslim immigration has done to Denmark," posted Anders Vistisen on X. He got his start as head of the party's youth group, on November 9, 2023. Less than a year later, Vistisen had become the chief whip for the Patriots for Europe in the European Parliament.

After Hamas's attack, Marine Le Pen backed Israel, orchestrating distance from her party's antisemitism. "Our compatriots of the Jewish faith have long been confronted with an ideology that I have always fought: Islamist ideology," she tweeted.

The day after the attacks, El Salvador's Bukele posted, "Those savage beasts [Hamas] do not represent the Palestinians." He advised Palestinians to "get rid of those animals and let the good people thrive."

—

Putin and his propagandists attempted to great-replace the most fundamental dynamic of the long-standing Russian-Ukrainian conflict: Russia colonizing Ukraine; Ukrainians fighting to remain free.

Netanyahu and his propagandists likewise attempted to great-replace the most fundamental dynamic of the long-standing Israeli-Palestinian conflict: Zionists colonizing Palestine; Palestinians fighting to remain free.

Both leaders great replace history through genocide theory.

In October 2015, Netanyahu addressed the Zionist Congress, which had first convened in 1897. "Hitler didn't want to exterminate the Jews at the time, he wanted to expel the Jew," Netanyahu argued. "And Haj Amin al-Husseini went to Hitler and said, 'If you expel them, they'll all come here [to Palestine].'" A Palestinian nationalist, al-Husseini oversaw Islamic courts, education, and holy sites in Jerusalem in the 1920s and 1930s. According to Netanyahu's great replacement of history, Hitler then asked, "So what should I do with them?"—to which the mufti replied, "Burn them."

Al-Husseini did want to burn up Zionist plans for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. He did receive funding from Nazi Germany to launch violent rebellions against Zionist Jews in Palestine. Al-Husseini did urge Muslims to engage in a holy war against British

colonizers, who were protecting the Zionists. Al-Husseini did express Hitler's antisemitic lie that Jews were behind World War II. He did tell imam trainees that Muslims would "never have a better or more loyal ally than the Greater German Reich." And Hitler did pursue remigration. But it was not a Palestinian nationalist who initiated the Holocaust—as Netanyahu claimed. Hitler had decided on the "Final Solution" well before meeting with al-Husseini in Berlin on November 28, 1941. One million Jews had already been slaughtered. What actually happened at the meeting: Hitler rejected al-Husseini's request to publicly state (or sign a secret treaty) that Germany would support Arab decolonialization movements, and would help "remove" the nation-building Zionists in Palestine.

The reaction to Netanyahu's great replacement of history came swiftly. Historian Meir Litvak of Tel Aviv University called Netanyahu's tale of al-Husseini as a central protagonist for the Holocaust "a disgrace" and "a lie." Saeb Erekat, secretary general of the Palestine Liberation Organization, excoriated Netanyahu for blaming "the Palestinians for the Holocaust" and "completely" absolving "Adolf Hitler's heinous and reprehensible genocide of the Jewish people." Historian Moshe Zimmermann of Hebrew University described Netanyahu as a Holocaust denier for moving "the responsibility…for the destruction of the Jews, to the mufti and the Arab world."

—

On October 16, 2023, Netanyahu spoke to the Israeli Knesset about the quickly escalating war in Gaza. "This is a struggle between the children of light and the children of darkness, between humanity and the law of the jungle," he said. "Many people around the world now understand…that Hamas is ISIS. They understand that Hamas

is the new version of Nazism. Just as the world united to defeat the Nazis and ISIS, so too will it unite to defeat Hamas."

Netanyahu has routinely likened Muslim militants to Nazis. According to the Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs, a think tank with ties to Netanyahu, "followers and admirers of Nazi methods can mainly be found in the Muslim world." This think tank added that any "portrayal of Israel, Israelis, and Jews as Nazis" is "anti-Semitic." Using this politically expedient definition, the think tank could describe Israeli historians as antisemitic for accurately portraying Netanyahu's tale about al-Husseini as Holocaust denial. Which is the point.

No one who allied with the murderously antisemitic Nazis—neither Ukrainian nor Palestinian nationalists in the early 1940s—is above condemnation. But the full context must be told. Netanyahu replaced the historical context of those Palestinian nationalists who allied with Nazis against Zionist colonizers seeking to erect a Jewish ethnostate in Palestine. Just as Putin replaced the historical context for those Ukrainian nationalists who allied with Nazis against Soviet colonizers who had annexed Ukraine into the Soviet Union. Erasing this historical nuance gives twenty-first-century Zionists like Netanyahu the ability to brand Palestinians as essentially neo-Nazis, in the same way Putin brands Ukrainians as essentially neo-Nazis. Netanyahu and Putin use these brandings to claim that their genocidal wars against Palestinians and Ukrainians are about defending against a genocide—against the great replacement.

—

Putin uses the term "Russophobia" to describe the persecution ethnic Russians face outside Russia. In his 2024 Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly, Putin says that "just like any other ideology promoting racism, national superiority or exceptionalism, Russophobia is blinding and stupefying." Political scientist

Konstantin Pakhalyuk explained that, after Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022, "the definition of Russophobia blossomed to include everyone who speaks out against Russian aggression in any way. It created the narrative that Russians are criticized for who they are, not what they do." Perhaps Putin and his propagandists gleaned this definition of Russophobia from those politicians and propagandists who blossomed the definition of antisemitism to include everyone who speaks out against Israeli aggression in any way, pushing the narrative that Israeli Zionists are criticized for who they are, not what they do.

This false narrative—that anti-Zionists are inherently antisemitic—rests on definitional and historical truths about antisemitic ideas. To hold antisemitic ideas (and racist ideas in general) is to be unable to separate identity from behavior. And to antisemitic propagandists historically, Zionist has meant Jewish and Jewish has meant Zionist. This interchangeability has existed in an essential element of Nazi great replacement theory: the narrative of a Jewish/Zionist plot for global domination, as presented in the fraudulent screed known as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

While these antisemitic attacks on Zionism (and Jews) persisted over the last century, there simultaneously emerged a number of Jews and Gentiles who criticize political Zionism and Israeli policy toward Palestinians in Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank. Both have mushroomed in the wake of Israel's latest war in Gaza—antisemitic operatives using Israel and Zionism as a proxy for disparaging Jews, and human rights activists condemning the Jewish ethnostate-building of political Zionism and the genocidal war policies of Israeli leaders. Netanyahu and his propagandists have refused to distinguish between the two, usually framing the latter as the former. To disparage Zionism or Israel, by their way of thinking, is to disparage Jews.

The inversion of anti-Zionism as essentially antisemitic has joined with other inversions that have emerged during this

authoritarian age. The inversion of antiracism as anti-White. The inversion of feminism as anti-male. The inversion of LGBTQ activism as anti-Christian. Giorgia Meloni's inversion of antifascism as anti-Italian. These inversions are all about chaining ideologies to identities to prevent Jews, White people, men, Christians, heterosexuals, and Italians from becoming what great replacement theorists seem to fear the most: anti-Zionist Jews, antiracist White people, feminist men, anti-homophobic Christians, antifascist Italians, who all believe *everyone* should have religious, political, and sexual freedom.

In 2018, Netanyahu officials codified an imperial Jewish ethnostate into law. The "Nation-State Law" stipulated that "the right to exercise national self-determination" in Israel is "unique to the Jewish people." The law established "Jewish settlement"— the illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza—"as a national value."

Great replacement theorists would rather manipulate people into desiring ethnostates led by electoral dictators or aspiring electoral dictators who protect their privileges. But they have not protected the rights and lives of the people.

The New York Times reported that Israeli military and intelligence officials came across Hamas's attack blueprint more than a year before October 7, 2023. But the Netanyahu administration did not move to prevent the carnage. In early 2024, U.S. intelligence likewise tipped off the Kremlin in advance about an impending terror attack outside of Moscow. On March 22, 2024, four men from Tajikistan, directed by ISIS, set the Crocus City Hall music venue ablaze and killed 149 Russian concertgoers, mostly by gunfire. Instead of taking action to prevent the attack, Putin had charged the United States with "outright blackmail and an intention to intimidate and destabilize our society." After the attack, Putin spuriously connected the gunmen to Ukraine to justify his war.

Putin has no problem blatantly lying to Russians. Perhaps his most barefaced lie from the white podium at his February 2024

address: “I am grateful to the parliamentary parties for uniting around national interests…. We will continue to advance democratic institutions.”

CHAPTER 129

Imminent Plans

After winning his first presidential election, in 2000, with about 53 percent of the vote, Putin set about destroying a nascent Russian democracy. The owners of Russia's leading television networks were exiled, imprisoned, or bent to Putin's will. In 2002, Putin had Russian legislators approve a law that required presidential candidates to secure two million signatures, doubling the previous requirement, while exempting Putin from this requirement. In 2003, assassins took out Sergei Yushenkov, the leader of the anti-Putin party Liberalnaya Rossiya (Liberal Russia). He had been investigating the role of Putin's FSB in the 1999 apartment bombings that killed more than three hundred Russians. Putin blamed the bombings on Chechens and used them as a pretext for the Second Chechen War, when Russia recolonized Chechnya. Journalist Yuri Shchekochikhin, investigating the FSB's role in the bombings, turned up dead in 2003 too.

In 2004, with those investigating the FSB assassinated, with the all-powerful television stations pushing Putin's candidacy, with some voters forced to cast public ballots, with international observers citing "problematic" counting and tabulations of ballots, Putin claimed victory in a rigged reelection with 71.31 percent of the vote. After his reelection, his most potent opponents continued to be assassinated.

The constitution barred Putin from running for a third consecutive term in 2008. To succeed him, Putin handpicked First Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev, who won what appeared to be another rigged presidential election in 2008. Putin became the prime minister of Russia. During Medvedev's presidency, the Russian Federal Assembly, dominated by Putin's United Russia, amended the constitution to extend presidential terms from four to six years.

Pro-democracy Russians were done with all the fraud after the 2011 legislative elections, if not long before. Elections for the State Duma, the lower house of Russia's Federal Assembly, have been as tightly rigged for Putin allies as the presidential elections. In the lead-up to the 2012 presidential election, huge demonstrations were held "For Fair Elections." They were not enough to stop Putin. He won the unfair election with nearly 64 percent of the vote. There were reports of ballot stuffing and carousel voting, a tactic of paying busloads of voters to be driven around to different polling sites to vote multiple times for Putin.

The day before Putin's third inauguration in May 2012, a rally for democracy and against corruption assembled no fewer than 20,000 people. Putin's police force cracked down with nightsticks, arrests, and jail sentences. Some demonstrators got slapped with four years in prison. Anti-corruption activist Alexei Navalny faced fifteen days in prison, becoming a national symbol of the resistance.

The 2018 presidential election should have been a showdown between Putin and Navalny. But Putin's Central Election Commission barred seventeen candidates from running, including Navalny. Putin won the rigged election on March 18, with nearly 77 percent of the vote.

In 2020, the Kremlin used the pretext of the COVID-19 pandemic to outright ban demonstrations and protests. In August, while on a flight from Siberia to Moscow, Alexei Navalny was poisoned with a nerve agent, likely by FSB operatives. He was evacuated to Berlin, where doctors treated him and he recovered.

When he returned to Russia in January 2021, police detained him, charging him with a parole violation. The arrest prompted mass demonstrations across Russia.

The mass demonstrations were eventually quelled months later. And with the invasion of Ukraine in early 2022, Putin now had a perfect pretext for crushing internal dissent of any kind. War demanded national unity, after all. If recent history is any indication, then the twenty-first century will be marred by electoral dictators and aspiring electoral dictators warring externally and inciting political violence, like invasions of parliament, to suppress internal political opposition.

Days after Russian troops crossed the border into Ukraine in February 2022, Putin's legislators outlawed "discrediting" the Russian military or circulating "false information" about the invasion —with punishments of between ten and fifteen years in prison for those found guilty. Putin's officials have used the law to ban dozens of independent Russian media outlets. Police arrested almost 20,000 antiwar demonstrators in the first two years of the war. Putin judges sentenced an artist in Saint Petersburg to seven years in jail for swapping out five supermarket price tags with antiwar messages. Elsewhere, a seventy-two-year-old woman was sentenced to five and a half years in prison for two antiwar social media posts.

Authorities sentenced Navalny, who opposed Putin's Ukraine invasion, to nineteen years in prison. At forty-seven years old, Navalny died in prison on February 16, 2024, almost certainly assassinated. His wife, Yulia Navalnaya, long known as the "first lady" of the opposition, vowed to carry on her husband's work. Outside of Russia, of course.

All this opposition to Putin did not include all Russians. Some Russians backed Putin. Like others around the world, they had turned on democracy. More and more people seemed to favor electoral dictators, especially young people.

CHAPTER 130

Strong Leader

A **2023 Open Society** Foundations survey of people across the world found that only 57 percent of respondents aged eighteen to thirty-five considered democracy to be their preferred form of government. About a third of those young people expressed that "having the army rule or a leader 'who does not bother' with parliament or elections is a good way of running a country."

Targeted indoctrination of youth by great replacement parties almost certainly accounts for more young people desiring dictators. Youth members of Austria's Freedom Party made a promotional video in 2023 complaining about "mass migration, wokeism, rainbow terror, and Islamization." Freedom Party leader Herbert Kickl defended these members for displaying "a positive approach to their homeland and nature." These youth spouted their ideas below the Vienna balcony where Hitler gave his homecoming speech after annexing Austria in 1938. The Freedom Party video exhibited images of French Nazi collaborator Pierre Drieu la Rochelle and Portuguese dictator António Salazar. The party's message proved unmistakable: slavery and colonization have been good for peoples of color, and dictatorships have been good for White people. And the enslaving and colonizing wars of these dictators had a good influence on White men. "Men need violence. Men need competition," James Pogue explained to fellow journalist

Ezra Klein in a podcast dissecting the techno-masculinist discourse. "If men don't have a project to go to war and do something for their collective nation or tribe, they're going to feel lost. Behind the scenes, for years, I've been hearing this."

Young people are more likely than older people to get their news on social media platforms, where the firehose of disinformation about democracy is at work. Young people are the least likely to have lived through the terror of dictatorships. By contrast, 71 percent of respondents in the Open Society Foundations survey aged fifty-six and older preferred democracy as their form of government—which still left a critical mass of about 30 percent of older people who did not.

Respondents to that survey ranked corruption as "the most important challenge facing their country"—ahead of climate change, inequality, and poverty. The surveyors found that "people who believed corruption to be the most important challenge in their country were more likely to distrust national or local politicians." And the people who distrusted national politicians skewed younger, likely some of the same young people who did not trust democracy. Trust in national politicians was at 30 percent or lower for respondents in all the surveyed countries in Europe and the Americas.

What could be behind this distrust? One factor is great replacement theory. The most consistent campaign message of great replacement theory is that the politicians in mainstream political parties are working against the interests of White people, men, Christians, heterosexuals, Jews, and ethnic majorities. This recurring message has no doubt incited what political scientist Larry M. Bartels terms "ethnic antagonism." In a study of the United States, he identified the most potent expression of "ethnic antagonism" as "concerns about the political power and claims on government resources of immigrants, African-Americans, and Latinos." Beliefs about losing power and resources were the

"strongest predictor" of "antidemocratic attitudes," Bartels found. In analyzing the Republican respondents who expressed antidemocratic views, Bartels challenged the received notion that political apathy or lack of education correlated to antidemocratic attitudes. Instead, he found that "the most typical antidemocrats were…suburbanites with some college education and a healthy (or unhealthy) interest in politics."

Perhaps this is why great replacement politicians increasingly choose not to hide their dictatorial aspirations. In 2021, Salvadoran President Nayib Bukele had no shame in changing his Twitter bio to read: "the coolest dictator in the world." In 2023, during a town hall with Sean Hannity in Davenport, Iowa, Donald Trump vowed to be a dictator on "day one" of his presidency. "After that, I'm not a dictator. Okay?" The crowd cheered. In one 2024 survey, three-fourths of Republicans answered that it would be "good" for the country if Trump were to be "dictator for a day." In another case, some Trump supporters told a journalist that they preferred Trump as a dictator over the reelection of President Biden. "Sometimes in life we all need a good paddling from the principal to set our life on the right track," one man said. "And this country does need a little bit of that. We need a little paddling." In an early 2025 survey, 44 percent of American respondents said that they saw Trump as "a strong leader who should be given the power he needs to restore America's greatness." Among Republicans, the figure was 81 percent.

Perhaps this is why great replacement politicians increasingly choose not to hide their disdain for democratic institutions and ideas. They openly speak about eliminating political parties, government agencies, ministries, constitutions, and parliaments, or at least reducing them in size and power. The 2023 political program for Spain's Vox stated: "It is necessary to dismantle the autonomous [regions] system, put an end to administrative duplicities, reduce the number of ministries, departments, members

of parliament and parliaments." In June 2023, President Bukele signed a law that cut El Salvador's municipalities from 262 to 44, on the pretext of cutting government spending. The previous week, the Legislative Assembly, dominated by Bukele's party, cut the number of legislators from 84 to 60. In 2023, as one of his first acts as president of Argentina, Javier Milei cut the number of ministries in half. He dissolved the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Women, Genders, and Diversity. He pared down the ministries of education and labor and combined them with other agencies into the new Ministry of Human Capital. More than 40,000 Argentinians in the public sector lost their jobs. In all, Milei's policies rocketed Argentina's poverty rate up to 53 percent in the first six months of his presidency, up from about 42 percent. Elon Musk closely followed these cuts in Argentina, meeting with President Milei multiple times.

On January 25, 2025, Musk posted a link to a video talk on these "deep chainsaw" cuts in Argentina. "This is awesome," he wrote on X. Five days earlier, on his first day back in office, President Trump had established Musk's baby, the "Department of Government Efficiency," or DOGE. Trump tasked DOGE with saving money through maximizing "governmental efficiency and productivity." DOGE, initially led by Musk until a falling-out with Trump, eliminated government agencies and programs, triggering mass layoffs of federal workers, but savings came nowhere close to DOGE's stated goals. Among countless other cuts, DOGE significantly reduced the aid work of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), gutted the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, closed the federal agency that mediates labor disputes, and sought to eliminate the Department of Education. DOGE has inspired similar efforts around the world.

Cutting government protections for people in the name of protecting the people. Centralizing power over the people in the

name of freeing the people. These great replacement partisans look to Russia as a model.

CHAPTER 131

Servitude

"**We were not** the ones who started the war in Donbass," Putin says in his February 2024 presidential address, "but, as I have already said many times, we will do everything to put an end to it, eradicate Nazism and fulfil all the objectives of the special military operation, as well as defend sovereignty and ensure that our people are safe."

This is the weakest link in the chain of ideas. Russians should not view Putin as the ultimate defender of their livelihoods. Everyday White people, Christians, Jews, men, ethnic majorities, citizens, and heterosexuals should not look upon electoral dictators as protecting their livelihoods. Because historically it has largely operated the other way around.

Low- and middle-income White men have repeatedly been forced to fight and die in the police forces, militias, and armies that violently stole land and labor, that protected the accumulated power and wealth of a tiny group of super-wealthy White men. In 1705, during the same session when the Virginia General Assembly passed the colony's first comprehensive "Slave Code," lawmakers ordered "all [White] male persons whatsoever, from sixteen to sixty years of age," to serve in the militia. Colonizing militias battled uprisings of Indigenous or enslaved peoples and engaged in expansionary wars against Indigenous peoples.

The Second Militia Act of 1792, among the earliest military-related laws in U.S. history, mandated that "each and every free able-bodied white male citizen of the respective States" between the ages of eighteen and forty-five must "be enrolled in the Militia." In 1861, wealthy White enslavers launched a civil war to defend and expand the enslavement of Black people and to reassert their dominance over the restless majority of White Southerners who were not enslavers. Confederate lawmakers passed bills in Richmond allowing rich men to buy their way out of military service, while drafting poor White Southern men to fight a "rich man's war."

Conscripted Italian soldiers were part of the fighting force that attempted to expand Mussolini's North African empire in the early 1940s. To raise troops to keep the colony of Algeria, France forced hundreds of thousands of White men into the army between the mid-1950s and the early 1960s, keeping many beyond their terms or calling them up for service multiple times. (France conscripted impoverished Algerians too.) Starting in 1967, apartheid South Africa required White men between seventeen and sixty-five years old to serve nine months in the military. In the 1970s and 1980s, Chile's Augusto Pinochet largely drafted men from low-income families into the army that maintained his dictatorship, while men from wealthy families avoided the draft. Since 1949, Israel has required most able-bodied citizens to serve in the military when they turn eighteen, usually for two or three years. There have been exemptions. But those resisting on political grounds have often been jailed—as have conscripts into the Russian Army since the invasion of Ukraine.

On March 17, 2023, the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Vladimir Putin, charging him with war crimes in Ukraine. A Kremlin spokesperson repudiated it as "outrageous and unacceptable." Likewise, on November 21, 2024, the same court issued arrest warrants for Benjamin Netanyahu and his former defense minister Yoav Gallant, as well as for the top military

commander of Hamas, Mohammed Diab Ibrahim al-Masri (later withdrawn upon confirmation of his death). "There is nothing more just than the war that Israel has been waging in Gaza," Netanyahu's office brazenly responded.

With resistance to his rule rising, Putin may have prolonged the war in Ukraine to hold together his electoral dictatorship. Netanyahu definitely "prolonged the war in Gaza to stay in power," as a *New York Times Magazine* headline reported. Netanyahu needed to remain prime minister to remain out of jail—kind of like Trump in 2024. Netanyahu has managed to stall his corruption trial, which began in 2020. In 2025 he attempted to have the attorney general investigating him removed.

To remain prime minister, Netanyahu has had to keep two great replacement parties in his ruling coalition: Religious Zionism and Jewish Power. Both of these parties, as well as members of Netanyahu's Likud, want to prolong the war, fully control Gaza, ethnically cleanse Palestinians by encouraging "voluntary emigration" to Africa, and install new Israeli settlements. Putin seemingly has similar plans for eastern Ukraine. Hitler had similar plans for Eastern Europe.

—

Vladimir Putin closes his 2024 Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly. He declares that the execution of all the plans he proposed "directly depends on our soldiers, officers and volunteers —all military personnel that are now fighting at the front. It depends on the courage and resolve of our comrades-in-arms that are defending the Motherland." He expresses his "faith in our victories, successes and the future of Russia!"

A future Putin dictates.

In mid-March 2024, two weeks after his address, Putin will secure another victory in another rigged presidential election. His

highest percentage ever: more than 87 percent of the vote. No one expresses any doubt about its legitimacy. His chief political opponents are dead, incarcerated, silenced, or in exile.

About six weeks prior to Putin's rigged election, international observers identified all sorts of failures during El Salvador's presidential election held February 4, 2024. Ballots for Bukele's party were duplicated or tripled. Ballots in certain voting centers were not processed. Packages containing ballots arrived with broken seals. Were ballots against Bukele being tossed?

Because of all these failures, El Salvador's electoral body demanded a hand count of votes. But international observers found that "dozens" of Nuevas Ideas affiliates and government employees participated in the hand count.

The opposition parties demanded the voiding of the congressional election results. But they were screaming powerlessly into the wind. Bukele claimed he had won the highest margin of victory "in the entire history of democracy," retaining the presidency "with more than 85% of the votes." His Nuevas Ideas party secured fifty-four out of the sixty seats in the legislature. Putin wished Bukele good health and expressed hope that his "activity will contribute to expanding cooperation between the two countries in several spheres." Present at President Bukele's second inauguration: Tucker Carlson and Donald Trump Jr. Bukele's electoral dictatorship, enshrined for the time being.

Putin was in a similar position as Bukele for his reelection in 2024. Russia's constitution forbade a president from serving three consecutive terms. But like Bukele, Putin had his legislators amend the constitution in 2020 and reset his term-limit clock to zero. A tactic he can use again to remain electoral dictator for life.

Since 1951, the Twenty-Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution has prohibited a U.S. president from serving a third term. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama all stepped down after their second terms.

On March 30, 2025, early on in his second term, President Trump told NBC News that running for a third term was not off the table. “A lot of people would like me to do it,” he said. “There are methods which you could do it.”

Epilogue

Recall the words of Renaud Camus. Recall when this novelist turned political theorist first fictionalized the great replacement in Hérault, in southern France. Recall when Camus "discovered that thousand-year-old villages had their population largely transformed, with women wearing the Islamic veil gathering at the eighteenth-century fountain and other[s] appearing at gothic twin windows."

Camus's fiction reads as a second printing of Adolf Hitler's fiction, when he first imagined a flood of Jews replacing Germans. Hitler set his tale hundreds of miles northeast of Hérault. In a nation where, a century later, a party founded by Nazis became the most popular party. In a nation where Martin Sellner pushed remigration as the "solution" to the supposed great replacement. In a nation on the other side of the Alps. In the global city on this mountain range's eastern edge.

—

From 1908 to 1913, Hitler lived in Vienna, the capital of Austria-Hungary. Hitler hailed from German-speaking Austrians who for centuries, through the Habsburg monarchy, had imposed their power, language, and culture on the empire that today has broken into a dozen nations.

On the eve of Hitler's arrival in Vienna, some nationalities had already liberated themselves, namely the Italians and Hungarians. The Slavic peoples were demanding their liberations in the early

twentieth century. The disenfranchised poorer men of all nationalities in the constituent states of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had acquired universal male suffrage, after a general strike for suffrage, higher wages, and better working conditions.

Hitler recoiled at this "democratic nonsense," to use the words of journalist William L. Shirer. Hitler lamented the political and economic power he had gained in Vienna thanks to the antiracist labor organizing and democratic solidarity across diverse peoples. Hitler craved what he seemed to be losing as a German-speaking Austrian: privilege. His loss was embodied in the arrival of foreigners in Vienna. Camus's visual instruction of loss in the Hérault streets had originally been Hitler's "visual instruction of the Vienna streets."

—

"Once, as I was strolling through the Inner City, I suddenly encountered an apparition in a black caftan and black hair locks," Hitler wrote. "Is this a Jew? was my first thought."

Is she Black? was Donald Trump's thought about Vice President Kamala Harris in 2024. Is this an American? was Trump's thought about Barack Obama in 2011.

Hitler depicted an orthodox Jewish man likely from Galicia—current-day eastern Poland and western Ukraine. State-sponsored Russian massacres of Jews in Galicia prompted tens of thousands to flee to urban centers like Vienna in Central and Western Europe. The more Jewish immigrants arrived, the more early great replacement theorists like Wilhelm Marr cast them as invaders. This German politician, who popularized the term "antisemitism" in 1879 (German *Antisemitismus*), pronounced "the end of Germany" and portrayed Germans as defeated "slaves" after a long race war against Jews. Imagine fleeing murderous violence—as Galician Jews were in the early twentieth century, as Black and Brown immigrants

are in the early twenty-first—and being rendered the oppressor. A senseless belief in stranger danger sustains a history of all people being no stranger to danger.

We know the genocidal end of history: what could bring about the end of human history. Great replacement theory is a nuclear theory, the most genocidal political theory known to humanity. Hitler justified the Holocaust as preventing the extermination of White Aryans. He imagined a genocide to rationalize a genocide. As did Camus. "The Great Replacement is a genocide by substitution," Camus wrote.

Hitler ended his own life before he could end all human life. We know the final hours of his life. Hearing Russian artillery in the early morning of April 29, 1945. Knowing Russian troops were coming for his Berlin bunker. Marrying his longtime girlfriend, Eva Braun. Marking the occasion with a wedding breakfast. Lecturing the guests—a few prominent Nazis and the bunker staff—about the greatness of his life, about his plan to end it soon. Tears welling up like the champagne. Soon retiring to a private room. Summoning a secretary to put down his final "Political Testament" to the world. Inscribing into history that "out of the ruins of our cities and monuments of art there will arise anew the hatred for the people who alone are ultimately responsible: International Jewry and its helpers!" Proclaiming into the future that "there will come…the seed of a brilliant renaissance."

World War II ended the Nazi age in 1945. All those bombs on the house of Hitler. The house of Hitler became uninhabitable for the rest of the twentieth century. It became difficult for politicians to attract voters with Nazi ideas and win. And yet politicians in obscure parties like Germany's National Democratic Party, Italy's Italian Social Movement, Austria's Freedom Party, and France's National Front did not abandon the house of Hitler. They gutted it. They renovated it. New walls and fixtures and furniture. White and Christian, the new Aryan. Muslim and immigrant, the new Jew.

Globalist elites, the new "international Jewry." Culture, the new blood. Cultural Marxist, the new cultural Bolshevist. Remigration, the new final solution. Mega-prisons, the new concentration camps. The electoral dictator, the new conventional dictator.

A neo-Nazi renovation that ushered in the authoritarian age. A renovation completed in the twenty-first century by a secret agent in Russia, a career political operative in Hungary, the French daughter of a party founder, the billionaire grandson of an apartheid promoter, the son of a Nazi lieutenant in Chile, a lifelong Eurosceptic in England, Islamophobes from India to the Netherlands, a leader of a troll farm in El Salvador, a real estate tycoon in the United States. A renovation marketed as "not racist" by party spokespersons of color suited in proximity denial. A renovation staged and sold to new generations of unsuspecting voters by young politicians, such as Alice Weidel of Germany, Pierre Poilievre of Canada, Giorgia Meloni of Italy, and Nayib Bukele of El Salvador. Not to mention the young president of Marine Le Pen's National Rally, Jordan Bardella. Not to mention the third-youngest vice president in U.S. history, JD Vance.

When outrage rose over the Great Recession, over Barack Obama's election, over the larger numbers of immigrants of color, over the terror attacks, over COVID-19, over the pandemic restrictions, over the pandemic-era violence, over inflation; when confusion and disinformation spread online and offline about causes of these complex developments, the renovated house of Hitler hit the market. Beckoning with a simple explanation of events to link and house the rage: the great replacement. People who despised Hitler unwittingly locked arms with people who admired Hitler. They rushed together into the renovated house by the hundreds of millions, across continents and oceans and nations. Their parties made the great replacement the most dominant political theory of our time.

—

The grand political struggle in the twenty-first century is between antiracist democracy and racist dictatorship. The grand political struggle is not between the races or ethnicities or religions, as great replacement theorists would have us believe. The grand political struggle is not between "the left" and "the right" and "the center," as traditional political commentary would have us believe. After National Rally won the first round of the June 2024 French legislative elections, the so-called "leftist" and "center-left" and "center-right" political parties banded together in the second-round runoff a week later to successfully keep Le Pen's party out of power.

Great replacement politicians typically desire to rule absolutely, not share power with "the right." Check out El Salvador. On August 1, 2025, fifty-seven out of sixty lawmakers abolished presidential term limits, extended presidential terms from five to six years, eliminated runoffs, and moved the next general election up by two years, to March 2027. Which is to say, the Salvadoran Congress, controlled by Nayib Bukele's Nuevas Ideas party, concretized his electoral dictatorship, handing him the ability to rule indefinitely and seek a longer presidential term earlier. Upon the passage of this constitutional reform, Marcela Villatoro of the "right-wing" Alianza Republicana Nacionalista declared, "Today, democracy has died in El Salvador."

Check out the Netherlands. Geert Wilders's ruling coalition lasted only eleven months after his party won the 2023 elections and took seven months to form a government. Wilders demanded, to no avail, that his coalition partners send the army to the border, bar all asylum seekers, close asylum facilities, and remigrate Syrian refugees. On June 3, 2025, Wilders pulled his Party for Freedom out of the so-called "right-wing" coalition, eliminating its majority, crumbling the Dutch government, forcing the prime minister's resignation. "I signed up for the toughest asylum policy, not the

downfall of the Netherlands," Wilders said. He looked toward the coming snap elections in the fall of 2025, saying, "I intend to become the next prime minister."

Great replacement parties have largely been defeating "center-left" and "center-right" political parties in electoral campaigns. The playbook is similar in almost every country. Getting voters to believe the great replacement is happening. Smearing the "center-left" and "center-right" and "far-left" as facilitating the great replacement. Instead of educating voters about racist, sexist, Islamophobic, and queerphobic ideas that underlay great replacement theory, the "center-left" and "center-right" parties abandon this edification or smear the antiracist, queer, Muslim, and feminist educators as extremists, thus making voters more vulnerable to the great replacement theory that is being used to defeat their parties. And then these "center-left" and "center-right" parties adopt and adapt some chapters of the book, legitimizing the fiction, increasing voters' faith that the great replacement is *real* and their parties are *really* behind it.

Trapped now, these "center-right" and "center-left" parties position themselves as better equipped to protect the nation from the great replacement: to secure its borders, to prosecute "migrant criminals," to protect citizens' way of life, to stamp out divisive "wokeism" or "identity politics." Trump's Republican Party fabricated an invasion of Black and Brown immigrants *to blame* the Democratic Party for it. Farage's Reform UK chanted "Stop the boats" *to blame* the Conservative and Labour parties for the boats. And yet the Democratic, Conservative, and Labour parties have campaigned on "border security." Which sounds to many voters like the creator of the problem campaigning to end it. Once voters believe, on some level, that the great replacement is happening, they gravitate to great replacement parties.

During Germany's February 2025 federal elections, the "mirroring" of the AfD "on immigration backfired for Germany's

political centre," political consultant Johannes Hillje noted. The "center-left" Social Democrats (SPD) and the "center-right" Christian Democrats (CDU) had their worst and second-worst result, respectively, in a national election since the Nazi age. Weidel's neo-Nazi AfD achieved the best result in its history, nearly doubling its vote share from 2021. The CDU and the SPD earned enough votes to keep the AfD out of their ruling coalition. But if these parties continue to mirror the AfD, their days ruling Germany could be numbered. Meanwhile, the days of José Antonio Kast *not* ruling Chile appear to be numbered. After he finished second in Chile's presidential election on November 16, 2025, the fourth- and fifth-place finishers endorsed him. Kast won the runoff in December against communist Jeannette Jara, the "center-left" coalition candidate, who counterproductively campaigned on border security. The 38th president of Chile, the son of a Nazi lieutenant.

When "center-left" and "center-right" parties have held on to power in recent years, they have often declined in popularity. And great replacement parties are surging. In the 2024 and 2025 elections for Japan's lower and upper parliamentary houses, the Liberal Democratic Party lost its majority in both houses for the first time in party history, dating back to 1955. One reason: the rise of Sanseitō, which adopted the slogan "Japanese First" and secured three seats in the 2024 House of Representatives (lower house) elections and an additional fourteen seats in the 2025 House of Councillors (upper house) elections, after winning just one seat in the upper house in 2022. The anti-vaccine party had transformed itself into an anti-immigrant party, pushing a "migrant crime" conspiracy reminiscent of Trump's and telling voters that their culture and heritage were under attack. Ahead of the 2025 upper house election, Sanseitō unveiled a new constitution that would return the nation to the "Revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians" motto of Imperial Japan used during World War II, when it was allied with Nazi Germany. Sanseitō leaders make no qualms about

their party taking after National Rally, the AfD, the U.S. Republican Party, or Reform UK—another surging party.

In February 2025, support for Nigel Farage's Reform UK had risen to 25 percent, higher than support for the ruling Labour Party (24 percent) and the Conservative Party (21 percent). It marked the first time that Reform UK had led in a major public opinion poll. "Labour strategists now see Reform as their primary threat," *The Guardian* reported on May 3, 2025. By early November 2025, Farage's Reform UK (27 percent) had increased its polling lead over the Labour Party (20 percent) and the Conservative Party (16 percent). Even as most British voters view Brexit as a disaster, and many Farage supporters don't blame him for it, Farage's ascent is based on attacking the European Union. This success could spell a future for great replacement politicians in Europe. In fact, these politicians stand to gain more electorally from raging against the EU than raging against immigrants, according to a 2024 study by political scientists Sofia Vasilopoulou and Roi Zur.

—

"Propaganda, for Hitler, was the highest form of political activity," noted Hitler biographer Ian Kershaw. Propaganda remains the highest form of political activity in our authoritarian age. As great replacement theorist Christopher Rufo once said, "Politics is a form of conflict and rhetoric is its primary weapon." The propaganda of great replacement theorists engineers the miseducation of people as the policies of great replacement politicians structure the undereducation of people. Camus contended that "the poor have been fooled by democracy, and even more so by the so-called *democratisation.*" He argued that "the most relevant case is education." He opposed "providing college education to everybody."

Instead of more education, Camus wanted White people to have faith the great replacement was happening, even when the

numbers disproved it. "'*Such numbers?* What numbers?' you may ask," Camus wrote, "to which I could only answer: 'I don't know,' and further feel very much tempted to add: 'And I don't care.'" Camus did not "believe it is for science and scientists to assess and declare what the circumstances are and what plight the people of a given nation is experiencing and suffering from at a given moment." Camus encouraged people to trust "what you think is happening." He wanted people to "trust your eyes" and "heart" and "listen to your pain." Which means Camus has instructed people to dismiss knowledge and have faith. Hitler's minister of propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, once said, "What drives an ideological movement" is "not a matter of knowledge but of faith."

After coming upon the Jewish "apparition" in Vienna, Hitler picked up his "first antisemitic pamphlets." But they were ineffective. Hitler "relapsed" in his faith "for weeks at a time, once even for months." Antisemitism seemed "so monstrous, the accusations so boundless, that, tormented by the fear of doing injustice, I again became anxious and uncertain."

Most voters fear doing injustice even today. They buy into updated (political) houses on faith, without seeing the bones. This is the whole point of a renovation. The whole point of all the orchestrated distancing from Nazism. The whole point of the proximity denial of racism. The whole point of the inversion of antiracism and feminism. The whole point of the past-good-immigrant and present-bad-immigrant dichotomy. The whole point of the great replacement of history. It's all to prevent relapses. All to maintain faith.

With the house of Hitler fully renovated in the twenty-first century, intellectual historians must fully renovate definitions. Human beings cannot protect themselves from ideas they cannot recognize. Human beings cannot recognize what is misdefined. Racist ideas are "imaginative," constantly adopting "new names" and keeping "old habits," to use the words of scholar Imani Perry.

Definitions of ideas must account for historical continuity *and* change. But people routinely define *neo*-Nazi ideas as old Nazi ideas in new times. Praising Hitler today. Shouts of "blood and soil" today. Raging about "international Jewry" today. But these old Nazi ideas in our time are *Nazi* ideas. There's nothing new or *neo* about them.

In looking for the old, people fail to look for the new. *Neo*-Nazi ideas are *new* Nazi ideas for *new* political times. Most predominantly, neo-Nazi ideas in the twenty-first century are new age great replacement theory. And this theory is as destructive for White people—and the rest of us—as Nazism was for Germans and the rest of our ancestors.

The more everyday White people believe that "replacers" of color are coming to harm them, the more they empower great replacement politicians who offer dictatorial protection. The more everyday White people empower dictators, the more the policies of those politicians harm everyday White people. The more everyday White people are harmed, the more great replacement politicians mislead them into believing that "replacers" of color are harming them. Once manacled by the illusion of anti-White racism, White people are unable to recognize and resist the authoritarianism and ageism and sexism and homophobia and ableism and antisemitism and late-stage capitalism—maintained by great replacement politicians—that are more likely to be the source of their struggles. This is the anti-Whiteness of fake charges of anti-Whiteness in the twenty-first century.

Nazi propagandists caught countless non-Jewish Germans in a similar manner. "When you have been caught in this vicious circle there really is no escape," as Vienna-born Jewish historian Ernst Gombrich once described Nazism.

—

Chain of Ideas set out to chronicle how humanity has become entrapped in this vicious circle of the great replacement. But this book aims to be more than a global history, by revealing ten ideas used to entrap people—what I have called the chain of ideas. But I believe we can escape the vicious circle.

We can escape the vicious circle by ending our efforts to escape each other. We can liberate ourselves from the ideas that fetter us by recognizing what binds us. Only a universal recognition of the unbreakable chain of humanity can liberate us from the breakable chain of ideas.

Yes, there are different links in the chain of humanity. Yes, there are different skin colors, hair textures, cultures, religions, genders, ethnicities, nationalities, sexualities, and more. But all these different links are interconnected to form the human chain that stretches across borders and oceans and mountain ranges and deserts. What strikes one link ultimately rattles all links. What strengthens one link ultimately strengthens the entire human chain.

To strengthen the entire chain, humanity must recognize that there's more evidence for positive-sum ideas than zero-sum ideas. Most members of privileged groups *gain* from equitable and just policies *alongside* members of disadvantaged groups, not in competition against them. But that recognition is only the beginning. Nations must collect and study inequity data, including racial inequity data. Not because *race* is real but because *racism* is. Racial inequity data is the best evidence of the reality of racist policy *and* the unreality of the great replacement.

We must accurately define racism as a power structure of policies and practices that lead to racial inequity and injustice, justified by ideas of racial hierarchy. Using inequity data and accurate definitions, we can see that racism and other bigotries against disadvantaged groups are not over—and that bigotries against White people, men, Christians, citizens, and heterosexuals are not rising. We must stop the great replacement of history—

distant and recent—by shutting off the firehose of disinformation that marks recent arrivals as indigenous, and plunderers as patriots, and insurrectionists as freedom fighters, and dictators as protectors. We must learn history, that wellspring of wisdom. Our politics must spring from the indelible wisdom that the best way to secure our nations and peoples and families and selves is through securing what links us, our chain of humanity.

—

Hitler struggled in Vienna. From poverty. From isolation. From his rejection for admission into a prestigious artistic program. He had to peddle petty paintings for petty cash.

Powerful German-speaking Austrians hoarded resources and opportunities from people like him. And yet, in 1924, Hitler reconstructed his struggles in Vienna to construct his Nazism. What "repelled" him? What did he want everyday German speakers to be repelled by? Not exploitation. Not inequality. But the human chain: "this whole mixture of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs, and Croats, and everywhere, the eternal mushroom of humanity—Jews and more Jews." The Jewish population comprised about 9 percent of Vienna's residents in Hitler's day. Not far off from the percentage of immigrants of color that great replacement theorists claim are corroding old cultures in twenty-first-century nations. "The longer I lived in this city," Hitler wrote, "the more my hatred grew for the foreign mixture of peoples which had begun to corrode this old site of German culture."

Hitler's "enemies were in his eyes like vermin to be stamped out," wrote his biographer Ian Kershaw. "But his profound contempt for human existence extended to his own people." The same can be said for great replacement politicians. They despise their own "people" in practice if not rhetoric. They despise us all.

The world's most powerful great replacement politician provides the best example. Donald Trump aides overheard him "ridicule" religious leaders and "dismiss" faith groups and "deride certain rites and doctrines held sacred by many Americans who constitute his base," McKay Coppins reported in *The Atlantic*. Now "I don't have to shake hands with these disgusting people," Trump reportedly said about his supporters during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. Trump's policies and rhetoric have undermined White Democrats, White Jews, White queer people, White workers, White federal workers, White seniors, White children, White Europeans, and White Republicans. "A RINO may be the lowest form of human life," Trump said at a 2020 campaign rally, referring to disloyal Republicans in Name Only.

Trump's base of White male rural supporters has the nation's second-highest suicide rate, an epidemic that contributes to psychiatrist Jonathan Metzl's conclusion that: "Trump Is a Health Hazard to His Supporters." At least twenty-eight women—almost all of whom are White—have accused Trump of sexual misconduct over the years. Not to mention all the White small businesspeople, employees, customers, and lawyers he has swindled out of money over the years. Trump agreed to pay a $25 million settlement to the customers scammed at his real estate training program branded as "Trump University." He opened his second presidency in 2025 by firing countless White federal workers who voted for him, cutting billions of dollars in federal funding that helped his base. The self-identified greatest American patriot faced charges of instigating an assault on the greatest house of American patriotism on January 6, 2021.

—

The U.S. House of Representatives impeached Trump (for the second time) on January 13, 2021, for his incitement of the January

6 insurrection. The Senate fell ten votes shy of convicting Trump, which would have enabled a permanent ban on Trump holding office. Thereafter, Trump was charged with ninety-one felonies across four different criminal cases in state and federal court, only for the judges to sentence him to no jail time, dismiss the charges, or put the cases on hold.

The United States failed to hold Trump and his Republican Party accountable for crimes against White Americans and, of course, Americans of color. Germany failed to hold Hitler and the Nazi Party accountable a century ago. Hitler's insurrection occurred on November 8 and 9, 1923, in Munich, the city he moved to in 1913, from Vienna. Hitler received a light sentence. The court barred officials from deporting back to Austria "a man who thinks and feels as German." Hitler spent his prison time writing *Mein Kampf,* including his own great replacement story. He wrote that in Vienna, he "had at last come to the conclusion that the Jew was no German." And the "activity" of Jews "must ultimately result in the collapse of human civilization and the consequent devastation of the world."

After the 1923 Munich insurrection, known as the Beer Hall Putsch, Germany banned Hitler's Nazi Party, but only temporarily. A permanent ban could have disallowed the party from amassing the power to collapse human civilization and wreak devastation on the world. In the twenty-first century, outlawing political parties remains the most "effective" tactic "to minimize the direct impact of far-right groups," argued Cas Mudde, a leading global expert on political extremism. Between 1945 and 2015, Europeans outlawed more than fifty political parties of varying ideologies.

And then there's the banning of great replacement politicians when they break the law—and almost all of them have broken the law. Other countries fared better than Weimar Germany and Trump's United States. In June 2023, Brazil's electoral court prohibited Bolsonaro from running for office until 2030. And on

September 11, 2025, Brazil's Supreme Court sentenced Bolsonaro to twenty-seven years in prison for plotting a coup after his defeat in the 2022 election. His party allies in Congress started work on an amnesty bill, prompting demonstrations against the bill around the country. Before September ended, Bolsonaro's son Eduardo found himself charged with coercion. Having fled to Florida, the sitting Brazilian congressman was accused of lobbying the U.S. government to impose sanctions on Brazil and Brazilian judges as a pressure campaign to stop his father's prosecution. (The United States did indeed impose 50 percent tariffs on Brazilian imports in July 2025, pointing to Bolsonaro's prosecution.)

In March 2025, a French court convicted Marine Le Pen and two dozen other National Rally members of embezzling €2.9 million in European Parliament funds to pay party staff. The judge sentenced Le Pen to two years of house arrest, fined her and her party, and banned her from running for office for five years, blocking her potential ascension to the presidency of France in 2027. She has appealed the ruling. Her sentencing came, by the way, two months after her father died, on January 7, 2025, at age ninety-six. National Rally celebrated Jean-Marie Le Pen as an "immense patriot." He "will remain the one who, in the storms, held in his hands the small flickering flame of the French Nation."

—

There are additional tactics that minimize the threat of great replacement parties from raising electoral dictatorships. We—our governments, our institutions, ourselves—must fund nonprofit media at the highest levels as the ultimate form of national security. We must expel conspiracy theories, disinformation, and hate speech from social media platforms, political debates, and political advertisements. We must systematize civic, antiracist, queer, feminist, and multicultural education that equalizes the links in the

chain of humanity. We must create more and more public squares of libraries, of parks, of transportation, of venues where the entire human chain can link up and converse and act in our collective interests. We must remove private money from electoral campaigns. We must stop executive and legislative branches from appointing judges. We must institute universal voting in elections run by nonpartisan commissions that inform voters about the policy positions of different candidates.

But nothing minimizes the draw of great replacement theory like radically improving societal conditions. In the twenty-first century, humans are facing job and housing and health and environmental and social insecurity, as well as all sorts of bigoted policies and practices. *Chain of Ideas* could have been titled *Chain of Conditions.* For every link in the chain of ideas, I have chronicled societal developments that great replacement politicians use to draw people to great replacement theory—from the Great Recession to great inflation rates. Intellectual historians cannot separate how people think from how people live.

The more policies transform conditions, the more those transformed conditions provide the milieu for transforming minds. Building antiracist, feminist, multicultural, sexually liberated, religiously free towns devoid of economic insecurity will allow people *to live* the peace, the equity, the justice that everyone gains from radical structural change. Only then can people easily identify and dismiss great replacement theory as the fictional conspiracy theory it has always been.

—

In 1925, Germany lifted the ban on the Nazi Party, opening the door to the Nazi age. German officials did not stop the construction of Nazism. The world did not begin to stop it until the outbreak of World War II in 1939. The Nazi age, with Hitler at the helm, had

been building for fourteen years. Humanity waited too long. It took the deadliest war in human history to end Nazism.

Humanity has waited too long again. The world did not stop the renovation of the house of Hitler after Marine Le Pen took over the National Front, after Trump introduced his birther theory, after Anders Behring Breivik's mass shooting in Norway, after Camus published *The Great Replacement*—all in 2011. The neo-Nazi authoritarian age has been building for fourteen years. And now, great replacement parties have become immensely powerful in almost every region of the world. And now, the problem of the twenty-first century is the problem of the border line. And now, dictatorships, war, violence, pandemics, poverty, bigotry, and climate change shall lead to migrations, writing new chapters in Camus's book on the great replacement. And now, signs point to great replacement politicians banding together and triggering World War III to extend their rule. Or establishing a tripartite colonization of the world, with dictators from the United States, Russia, and China having their zone of influence and junior collaborators in each country.

As a historian, it is my job to rigorously document the world's past.

As a human being, it is my job to study history to discern where my world could be headed.

As a historian and human being, it is my hope that humanity saves humanity from this authoritarian age.

—

There is reason for hope. Great replacement theory has not gained a foothold in every mind, in every nation. A governing majority of people in most nations can one day reject great replacement theory, if they have not already. A slight majority (52 percent) of polled Americans in March 2025 saw Trump as a "dangerous

dictator." Great replacement politicians have been defeated by coalitions, parties, and politicians. After the Dutch elections on October 29, 2025, exit polls projected an eleven-seat loss for Geert Wilders's party, as voters turned back his long march to be prime minister. Pierre Poilievre, who emerged from the 2022 trucker convoy as a shoo-in to be Canada's next prime minister, lost his seat in parliament on April 28, 2025. Canadian voters connected him and his Conservative Party to Trump, who had expressed plans to make Canada the fifty-first state. A week later, Australian voters, bewildered over Trump's tariffs, handed Peter Dutton's "Make Australia Great Again" campaign a shocking defeat.

In July 2025, the highest percentage of Americans on record—79 percent—conveyed to Gallup pollsters that "immigration is a good thing for the country." Likely reeling from Trump's ferocious invasions of cities and "remigration" roundups, as Trump's Homeland Security department termed them on November 28, 2025, only 30 percent of Americans told those Gallup pollsters immigration should be reduced, after 55 percent had said the same in 2024. There are countries like Ireland, where 20 percent of the residents are foreign born but great replacement parties remain weak. There are countries like Spain, with an extremely influential great replacement party that so far has failed to seize power. There are gigantic demonstrations erupting in Budapest against the electoral dictatorship of Viktor Orbán. There are transnational movements developing against the predations of racism, sexism, capitalism, Islamophobia, antisemitism, and queerphobia. Solidarity between these transnational movements is in the making.

Transnational movements are essential to liberating humanity from transnational great replacement theory and enshrining antiracist democracy the world over. Peoples from all backgrounds are realizing that to struggle for antiracist democracy is to struggle for our lives, our livelihoods, our cultures, our power, our freedom—everything and everyone we hold dear as human beings. Because

within an antiracist democracy, there is a people of peoples, a political unity without uniformity that is focused on protecting all groups and individuals from violence and economic exploitation and political manipulation, freeing everyone to practice their cultures and ways of living and worshipping and loving and being. International law, international institutions, and international organizations committed to defending human rights are essential to supporting all those citizens and stateless peoples on every continent, moving in antiracist democracy, moving out racist dictatorships. In every which way, again and again and again, Renaud Camus identified antiracism as *the* enemy of great replacement theory. He knows its power. Do we?

—

Humanity sits at a crossroads in the authoritarian age.

Either humanity will create conditions that confine people to the chain of ideas or humanity will create conditions that link people to the chain of humanity. I am hopeful humanity will create conditions for humans to be linked, not confined.

Either humanity will bend the knee before dictators to secure privileges or humanity will stand strong for democracy to secure power. I am hopeful humanity will choose power.

Either humanity will open doors to outsiders or humanity will close doors on the future. I am hopeful humanity will open the doors to the future.

Either humanity will see themselves as one in all our differences or humanity will one day be done. I am hopeful humanity will choose to be one—one chain of humanity.

Acknowledgments

My favorite section of the book: where I'm able to acknowledge the many hands that shaped *Chain of Ideas*. A book is truly a group project. I want to acknowledge the group that came together to formulate this one.

I did not set out to compose a global history of great replacement theory. I arrived here. Before I set out on the research, I had no idea that great replacement theory had become the most dominant political theory of our time. I had no idea that it should be understood as a neo-Nazi theory, fully renovated. I had no idea that authoritarian politicians from the United States to Hungary to El Salvador were deploying great replacement theory to justify replacing democracy with dictatorship. I had studied most of the links in the chain of ideas independently, but I had no idea how they linked up to rouse the spread of great replacement theory. It all came from the researching and reflecting and putting the history together.

And so, I first want to acknowledge my longtime agent, Ayesha Pande, as well as my longtime editor at One World, Chris Jackson. Because without their trust and backing and patience, things could have turned out very differently. The idea for this book changed tremendously over the years. I don't take for granted the time and space and encouragement Ayesha and Chris gave me to arrive at this book—and land at its findings. And of course, Ayesha, I'm thankful you helped me further refine the book idea, and Chris, your astute editing, as always, took this book to another level.

When I went on the research journey to discover this book, I didn't go alone. I had assistance—critical assistance—on that journey too. I am pleased to acknowledge Dr. Heather Sanford, Hunter Moyler, Meredith Barber, and Abigail Dundore. Thank you for helping me find and accumulate the primary and secondary sources from numerous languages, countries, and eras that served as the inkwell for *Chain of Ideas*. I am proud of the immense evidentiary foundation of this book. And many thanks to Heather, Hunter, Meredith, Abigail, and the One World copy editors for the multiple rounds of intensely fact-checking this book.

I must acknowledge the foundation of the foundation. Hundreds of scholars, scientists, and journalists around the world have been studying and reporting on elements of this topic for years. Many of them are named in the text and/or the notes, but I wanted to personally express my gratitude to each of you for your vital and courageous work. And I want to acknowledge the vital work of my colleagues and students at Howard University, especially within the president's and provost's offices, the College of Arts and Sciences, the Department of History, and the Howard University Institute for Advanced Study. You inform and inspire me each day.

I am proud to work again with all the marketing and publicity colleagues at One World, namely Maria Braeckel, Ayelet Durantt, Claire Fennell, and Katryce Campbell. The process of sharing a book with the world is as demanding as writing a book. I feel grateful for venturing through this process with you. Thank you for sharing my passion and dedication for interesting readers in *Chain of Ideas* while democracy still has a chance to reemerge in the world, while we still have a chance to read books critical of power, while we still have a chance to link the chain of humanity. And before I close, let me take an opportunity to acknowledge Avideh Bashirrad, Hiab Debessai, and the entire One World team for your stewarding and supporting this book project.

Finally, I must acknowledge my family. My wise and intrepid and radiant partner, the real Dr. Kendi. My curious daughters. My kind brother. My devoted and no-nonsense parents. My caring cousins and aunts and uncles and nieces and nephews. My empathetic, steadfast, and hilarious friends. All the astute elders and mentors, some of whom I've only met one time, but you shared a memorable nugget of wisdom or encouragement. You know who you are. You see how nasty it can be to challenge the power structure of racism in the public light. You witness the misrepresentations, the resentments, the envy, the projections we face from expected and unexpected parties. You ensure all the praise that comes my way inspires more impactful work. Through it all, you keep me in a constructive mindset. You keep me searching through the destructive attacks for constructive feedback. You keep me refining and growing and changing. You keep me creating for people as they keep hating on people.

My village: You love. And I strive each day to love you. You are the reason I love the chain of humanity. And my love of humanity is why I wrote this book.

Take Action

One of the most immediate ways anyone can take action is to support organized bodies of people already taking action. Support can come in a variety of forms: sharing their work in your networks, sending donations, attending their events, expressing words of encouragement. There are a number of organizations around the world engaged in the work to combat great replacement politicians, financiers, theorists, and soldiers; to build antiracist democracy; and to secure human rights for the entire human chain. Please support these organizations, including the Howard University Institute for Advanced Study in Washington, D.C., where I serve as director. Access a list of organizations to support at chainofideasbook.com/takeaction.

Notes

Access the full notes section online at:

chainofideasbook.com/notes

Index

The page numbers in this index refer to the printed version of the book. Each link will take you to the beginning of the corresponding print page. You may need to scroll forward from that location to find the corresponding reference on your e-reader.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

A

Aarons, Mark, 108

Abascal, Santiago, 223, 265, 277, 414

Abbas, Mahmoud, 280

Abbott, Greg, 285

Abedi, Salman, 137–38

ableism, 204

abolitionism, 41, 174

Aboriginal Australians, 234, 280, 314

abortion, xxiv–xxv

Abou-Chadi, Tarik, 454–55

Académie Française, xvii

ACT New Zealand, 422

Action Française (French Action), 36

Adam, Konrad, 252

Af D. *See* Alternative für Deutschland

affirmative action, 45–46, 101

Afghanistan, 89

Africa

- colonization of, 367–68
- human trade, 29, 97, 287, 288, 367–68
- immigration from, xviii–xx, xxi, 374, 375
- natural resources, 367

Afriyie, Jerry, 208

ageism, 204

Aguilar, Luis Manuel Hernández, xxxiv

Åkesson, Jimmie, xxviii

Al Noor Mosque, 228

Alianța Pentru Unirea Românilor (Alliance for the Union of Romanians), 250, 306, 456

Alianza Republiana Nacionalista (ARENA), 397–98, 497

Alito, Samuel, 100

Alleanza dei Progressisti (Alliance of Progressives), 347

Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance), 346, 348–49

Allende, Slavador, 123

Alliance for the Union of Romanians (Alianța Pentru Unirea Românilor), 250, 306, 456

Alliance of European National Movements, 443

Alliance of Progressives (Alleanza dei Progressisti), 347

Almirante, Giorgio, 340–41

al-Qaeda, 89, 126, 138

al-Shabaab, 89

Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei (Alternative Democratic Reform Party), 422, 456

Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany, or AfD), 75, 134–35, 223, 226, 243–44, 250–51, 252–53, 258–59, 260, 263, 266–68, 289–90, 308, 366, 454, 457–58, 498

Alvarado, Fabricio, 249

Amalekites, 472

Amaudruz, Gaston-Armand, 5

America First Legal (AFL), 216–18

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 217

American Colonization Society, 287

American Conservative Union (ACU), 276

American Enterprise Institute, 237

American National Election Study, 203

American Party, 56

American Psychological Association, 117

American Revolution, 319

American Values Survey, 426

Amic Prize, xvii

Anderson, Carol, xxviii

Anglin, Andrew, 69

Angus, Charlie, 320

anti-bigotry trainings, xxvi

anti-Black racism, 17, 29, 156

anti-Catholicism, 50–51, 56

anti-Christian bias, 220

anti-DEI laws, 216, 219–20

antifa, 361–64

Antifaschistische Aktion (Antifascist Action), 361

antifascism, 342–44

Antifascist Action (Antifaschistische Aktion), 361

Anti-Federalist League (UK), 172, 173

antiquization, 416

antiracism, xxvi, 205, 210–11. *See also* inversion of antiracism

antiracist democracy, xxxv–xxxvii, 43, 45, 124, 496, 509

antiracist demonstrations, 49, 85–86, 205, 209, 224, 244, 315–16, 361–62

antiracist intellectuals, 158–59, 179

antiracist policies, 47

antisemitism, xxiv, xxxi, xxxiv, 24, 35–36, 81, 204, 209, 220, 355–57, 494, 500–1

anti-White racism, 17, 25, 202–5, 220–21, 233, 502

anti-Zionism, 478

apartheid, 40, 45, 206–7, 281–82, 435

Applebaum, Anne, 217

Arab Spring, 88–89

Arendt, Hannah, 392–93

Arévalo, Bernardo, 423

Argentina

La Libertad Avanza (Liberty Advances), 305, 421

Milei's dictatorship, 486–87

Nazis' escape to, 108, 257

Videla's dictatorship, 141

Artés, Eduardo, 107

Asher, Jeff, 364

Asian Americans, hate crimes against, 405–6

Asiatic Exclusion League, 236

assimilation, 102, 111, 199, 200, 245

asylum seekers, 89–90, 92, 181

Atlanta spa shootings, 406

Auncibay, Francisco de, 97

Auschwitz-Birkenau, 109, 131, 246, 343

austerity measures, 30

Australia

Aboriginal Australians, 234, 280, 314

Nazis' escape to, 108

One Nation, 229

"stop the boats" slogan, 229, 234

trucker convoys, 327

United Australia Party, 314

White Australia policy, 234

Australian Natives' Association, 234

Austria

COVID-19 pandemic response, 307

Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Freedom Party), 189, 251, 277, 285–86, 307, 327, 456, 459, 484

Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party), 189

remigration proposals, 285–86

trucker convoys, 327

Austrian People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei), 189

Austro-Hungarian Empire, 57–58, 494

authoritarian thinking, xxix–xxx, 131

B

Babet, Ralph, 183, 314

Babiš, Andrej, 456

Bachmann, Michele, 317

Bacon, Augustus O., 175

Badenoch, Kemi, 192, 461–62

Baier, Bret, 434

Balliet, Stephan, 271

Banco Penta, 144

Bannon, Steve, 13, 36, 61, 115, 217

Barber, Chris, 293, 297–98, 330

Bardella, Jordan, 382, 457, 496

Bardot, Brigitte, 37

Barna, Ildikó, 83

Barrès, Maurice, 35

Barrio 18 (18th Street Gang), 394, 402

Bartels, Larry M., 483

Barton, Edmund, 234

Battle of Thermopylae, 322

Baum, Simone, 264

Bayerlein, Michael, 308

Beauchamp, Zack, 295

Beer Hall Putsch, 505

Belew, Kathleen, 213

Belgium
Brussels terror attack, 133
Flemish National Union, 32
German occupation of, 250
Rexist Party, 250
Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest), 133, 223, 251, 456, 459
Belton, Brigitte, 293, 297, 328
Ben Ali, Zine El Abidine, 88
Benedict, Ruth, 112–13
Ben-Ghiat, Ruth, 131
Ben-Gvir, Itamar, 473
Bennett, Naftali, 280
Bergen, Candice, 316
Berlusconi, Silvio, 346–47, 348–49, 371
Berndt, Hans-Christoph, 290
Bernier, Maxime, 249, 300–1, 302, 304, 310, 311, 325, 330–31
Berning, Carl C., 453
Berry, Jonathan, 72–73, 100
Best, Ricky, 261

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP, Indian People's Party), 62, 76, 249–50, 460

Biden, Joe, 9, 58, 66, 80, 219, 223, 404, 407, 415, 486

Bidol-Padva, Patricia A., 117

Biggs, Joe, 405

bigotry, 156–57, 204, 473

Bilbo, Theodore, 221

Binet, René, 4–5

Birnbaum, George, 475

birth rates, xxiv–xxv, 66–67, 434

birtherism, 6, 8–9

birthright citizenship, 42, 192

Bismarck, Alexander von, 267

Bismarck, Otto von, 98

Bissonnette, Alexandre, 323–25

BJP. *See* Bharatiya Janata Party

Black Lives Matter, 205, 214–15, 354

Black people

- abolitionists, 41–42
- anti-Black racism, 29, 156, 159

antiracist intellectuals, 158–59, 179
enslaved, xxxv, 29, 489
as eternal immigrants, xix, 42
hate crimes against, 70
proximity denial of, 158–62
racial progress views, 17
racism experienced by, 83
Reconstruction power, 43, 44–45
as replacees, xxvii
Black Pete (Zwarte Piet), 208–9
Blake, Jacob, 224
"blood and soil" ideas, xxxi, 264
Blouin, Katherine, 321
Blum, Edward, 45–47, 218–19
Boko Haram, 89
Bolivia, 305
Bolkstein, Frits, 199
Bolloré, Vincent, 62
Bolsonaro, Eduardo, 409, 506
Bolsonaro, Jair, xxviii

charges against, 506
COVID-19 pandemic response, 294, 295, 307–8
denial of being racist, 115
election loss, 409–11
on Nice truck attack, 134
Orbán endorsement, 410
praise for Putin, 462
presidential election, 61–62, 249, 381
on racism in Brazil, 162
remigration proposals, 285
Tucker Carlson Tonight appearance, 61–62
Turning Point USA appearance, 424
UNASUR skepticism, 168
bombings
Ansbach, 135
Brussels attacks, 133
Manchester Arena, 137
Oklahoma City, 20
Oslo, 20–22, 134
book bans, 212, 393

book burnings, 110

border control, 296, 308

Boric, Gabriel, 106, 140, 145, 149–50, 151, 307, 459

Bosma, Martin, 209, 281

Bossi, Umberto, 371

Botha, P. W., 45

Bouazizi, Mohamed, 88

Boulle, Pierre, 11

Bowers, Robert, 213–14

Bozóki, András, 148–49

Bracke, Sarah, xxxiv

Brackmann, Albert, xxxi

Bradley, Joseph, 174

Braun, Eva, 495

Braverman, Suella, 24, 178–80, 237–38, 278, 368

Brazil

COVID-19 pandemic response, 294, 307–8

insurrection, 410–11, 418–19, 424, 431

Jovem Pan, 61–62

Nazis' escape to, 108

Palmares, 41–42

Partido Liberal (Liberal Party), 381

Breitbart (website), 13, 61, 225, 475

Breitbart, Andrew, 61

Breitbart News Network, 61

Breivik, Anders Behring, 20–26, 32, 67, 128, 134, 187, 200, 262

Brennan Center for Justice, 59

Brexit, xxxiv, 185–86, 188–89, 499

Brexit Party, 190–91, 251

Bridges, Jerome, 65

Brigden, Noelle, 428

Britain First, 116

British National Party, 169, 176

British Nationality Act (1981), 192

Britt, Katie, 66

Brixton uprising, 176

Brookings Institution, 189

Brothers of Italy (Fratelli d'Italia), 250, 336, 339, 357, 365, 456

Brown, Patrick, 330

Brown people, xix, xxvii

Brown v. Board of Education, 99

Bruges Group, 172

Brundtland, Gro Harlem, 22

Buchanan, Patrick, 432

Bukele, Gabriela, 392

Bukele, Nayib

advertising background, 392, 394

birth, 392

censure of, 436–37

dictatorship, 437–38, 486

family background, 392

gang support for, 401, 402

great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii

Legislative Assembly speech, 390–91, 400–1, 402–3, 411–12, 427–28, 436

Nuevas Ideas (New Ideas), 397

opposition to gender ideology, 150

political background, 394, 396

praise for Putin, 462–63

presidential election, 397–98, 490–91

social media use, 397, 398, 428, 429, 437, 486

support for Israel, 476

Bulgaria

COVID-19 pandemic response, 306

insurrection, 417

Vazrazhdane (Revival), 75, 306, 381, 459

Bund Heimattreuer Jugend (League of Patriotic Youth), 264, 267

burkinis, 34–35, 37

burqa bans, 37

Bush, George W., 6, 491

Byzantine Empire, 95

C

Cabal, María Fernanda, 422–23

Caballero, Esteban, 420

Cabildo Abierto (Open Town Hall), 249

Calhoun, John C., 97

Camacho, Luis Fernando, 305

Cameron, David, 184–85, 189

Camp des Saints, Le (*The Camp of the Saints*) (Raspail), 12–13, 36

Campos-Duffy, Rachel, 223

Camus, Jean-Yves, 308

Camus, Renaud

- birth, xvii
- on Brexit, 188
- CNews appearance, 62
- on colonization, 98, 233, 366–67, 375
- condemnation of Christchurch massacre, 230
- on de Gaulle's anti-Muslim sentiment, 37
- denial of being racist, 114
- Euroscepticism, 167, 168
- global replacism theory, xxii, 4
- *Great Replacement, The,* xx, xxiii, xxxvii, 507–8
- as a great replacement theorist, xxiv, 500
- in Hérault, xvii–xx, 35, 493
- on Israel, 475
- Le Pen endorsement, xxxviii
- In-nocence Party, 388
- opposition to diversity, xxv
- opposition to multiculturalism, xxvi

praise for Orbán, 74

praise for Trump, 225

on preserving French culture, 51

racism definition, 356

on "second career" of Hitler, xxxii–xxxiii

Tricks, xvii

use of racial data, 82–83

on White genocide, xxiv

You Will Not Replace Us!, xxi–xxii, xxxvii, 7, 72, 92, 208, 245, 367

Canada

antiracist demonstrations, 315–16

Canadian Alliance, 310

Canadian Nationalist Party, 300

Conservative Party, 299, 300, 309–10, 330–31

COVID-19 pandemic response, 293, 301, 308, 320, 336

Emergencies Act, 329–30

First Nations blockade, 315

immigration to, 309–10

Liberal Party, 303, 331

New Democratic Party (NDP), 323–24

Nova Scotia attacks, 301–2

People's Party of Canada (PPC), 249, 300–1, 309, 330

Quebec City mosque shooting, 323–25

Social Credit, 434

Sun News Network (SNN), 61

Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, 303, 419

trucker convoys, 298–99, 303–4, 311–12, 313–14, 315–16, 320–21

Wexit campaign, 297–98

Canadian Alliance, 310

Cane, Clay, 158

capitalism, 28, 143

Carlson, Dick, 56

Carlson, Tucker, 324, 491

anti-White racism beliefs, 204–5

birth, 56

Bukele interview, 428

CPAC Hungary address, 277

family background, 55–56

great replacement theory beliefs, xxvi, 58, 60, 68

on January 6 insurrection, 425

NatCon, 278

Orbán interview, 60, 74, 77, 88, 94, 96, 101–2, 105

orchestrated distancing of, 68–69, 74

Tucker Carlson Tonight, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61–62, 74, 77, 80, 88, 94, 96, 101–2, 224

X show, 431

Carson, Ben, 159–60

Carter-Goodheart, Trish, 281

Catholics

anti-Catholicism, 50–51, 56

immigration of, 50–51, 56

persecution of Protestant Huguenots, 164–65

Cau, Jean, 12

Cazeneuve, Bernard, 130

center-left parties, 496–99

center-right parties, 496–99

Centre Party (Iceland), 226

centrism, xxx

Centro Democrático (Democratic Center), 75, 249

Césaire, Aimé, 29

Chaney, Celestine, 65

Channel 14 (Israel), 62

Charles Scribner's Sons, 12

Charlie Hebdo shootings, 126–27

Chauvin, Derek, 85, 86

Chega! (Enough!), 162, 250, 306–7, 381, 456, 459

Chen, Matthew, 321

Chen, Sijing, 393

Chicago Boys, 142

Chiesa, Marco, 422

"childless cat ladies," xxiv–xxv

Chile

- COVID-19 pandemic response, 307
- crimes of Paine, 142
- demonstrations, 145–46
- *Mercurio, El,* 123–24
- military conscription, 487
- Nazis' escape to, 108

as part of Southern Cone, 108

Partido Republicano (Republican Party), 105, 459

Pinochet dictatorship, 123–25, 142–43

presidential debates, 105–7, 123, 144

Unión Demócrata Independiente (Independent Democratic Union), 144, 459

Christchurch massacre, 228–31, 313

Christian, Jeremy, 261–62

Christian Democratic Union (Christlich Demokratische Union), 263–64, 498

Christianity

crusaders, 262

enslavement and, 97–98

European demographic trends, 360

Judeo-Christian constructs, xxvi

spread of, 94

as a stand-in for White cultures, 259–60

Christlich Demokratische Union (CDU, Christian Democratic Union), 263–64, 498

Chun Doo-hwan, 417

Chupik, Valentina, 448

Churchill, Winston, 98, 168, 236

CIA, 123–24

Citizens' Council, The (periodical), 221

Civil Rights Act (1866), 42

Civil Rights Act (1875), 45, 174

Civil Rights Act (1957), 221

Civil Rights Act (1964), 99, 221, 433

civil rights legislation, xxvi

Civil War (Spain), 265

Civil War (U.S.), xxi, 42–43, 44, 56, 321, 352, 425

classism, 46, 204

Cleverly, James, 368

Clinton, Bill, 491

Clinton, Hillary, 195, 203

Clyde, Andrew, 425

CNews, 62

Cohen, Denis, 454–55

Cohen, J. Richard, 215

Cohen, Roger, 259

Cold War, xxii

Collective Citizens of Mayotte, 286

college admissions, 45–47, 100–1, 218

Colombia, 75, 249, 422

colonialism, xxxiv, 29, 40, 43, 98, 182, 197–98, 206–7, 233–34

Colorado Party (Partido Colorado), 420

Common Man's Front (Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque), 358

Communism, xxii

Comoros, 286–87

Confederate flags, 321, 413

Confederate statues, xx–xxi

Congo Free State, 367

Conle, Henning, 266

Conservative Democratic Organisation (CDO), 178

Conservative Party (Canada), xxviii, 299, 300, 309–10, 330–31

Conservative Party (UK), 24, 155, 164, 176–77, 184, 191, 284–85, 499

Conservative People's Party of Estonia (Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond), 75, 251, 259

Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), 276–78, 294

Consolidation (Likud) party, 133, 381, 473

Constantine, 94

Cook, Eugene, 221

Cooper, Anderson, 3, 6, 9–10, 27, 33, 34–35, 37–38, 48–51

Cooper, Michael, 321

Coppins, McKay, 504

Correctiv (website), 244, 256, 267, 268, 283–84, 289

Corriere della Sera (periodical), 345, 346, 359

corruption, 485

Costa Rica, 249

Council of Conservative Citizens, 128

counter-colonization, 44, 233

COVID-19 pandemic

    border control and, 296, 308

    deaths from, 293

    government responses to, 294–96, 304–5, 306–8

    inflation and, 452

    linked to immigration, 296

    racialization of, 295–96, 405–6

    spread of, 293–94

trucker convoys, 298–99, 303–4, 311–12, 313–14, 315–16, 320–21

vaccination rates, 296

vaccine mandates, xxvi, 293, 295, 297–99, 301, 307, 309

violence during, xxxiv, 301–2, 303–4, 336, 406

Cox, Jo, 187, 188

CPAC. *See* Conservative Political Action Conference

Creemos (We Believe), 305

crime, sensationalization of, 363–64

Crimea, 443–44, 445, 446, 447–48

critical race theory (CRT), xxv–xxvi, 211–12, 214, 318

Croatia, 305

Crochet, Nicolas, 286

Crocus City Hall attack, 480

Cruddas, Peter, 178

Crumpacker, Edgar D., 174–75

Crusius, Patrick Wood, 59, 230

Cruz, Ted, 24, 276, 278, 326, 327, 354

Cuba, 140

Cubas, Paraguayo, 420

cultural Bolshevism, 24

cultural genocide, 282

cultural hygiene, 245

cultural Marxism, 24

cultural relativism, 127

culture

defined, 82

great replacement theory and, xxv–xxvi

preservation of, 260

racial hierarchies based on, 114–16

Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party), 421

Czech Republic, 131, 226, 251, 458

D

Daily Mail (periodical), 155–56, 164

Daily Stormer, The (website), 69

Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti), 75, 131, 250–51, 475

Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People's Party), 75, 131, 250–51, 475

data

collection of racial and ethnic, 80–84, 502–3

elimination of, 72–73

misrepresentation of racial inequity, 101

David Horowitz Freedom Center, 200, 216

Davis, Jefferson, 425

Day, Stockwell, 310

De Benoist, Alain, 275

De Giorgi, Elisabetta, 306

De Marsanich, Augusto, 340

De Pasquale, Lisa, 276

De Vries, Catherine E., 176–77

Deakin, Alfred, 234

Debout la France (France Arise), 164

decolonization, 5

deep stories, 7–8

Dees, Morris, 215

Degrelle, Léon, 250

dehumanization, 449, 470, 472–73

DEI initiatives, xxv, 215, 216, 219–20

Del Noce, Augusto, 369–70, 378

Democratic Center (Centro Democrático), 75, 249

Democratic Party (U.S.)
great replacement theory beliefs, xxix, 58
slavery and, 351–54
Southern Democrats, 352–53
Democratic Party (Minjoo Party), 417
Dempster, Helen, 96
denazification, 122, 467
denialism, 156
Denmark
Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People's Party), 75, 131, 250–51, 475
EEC membership, 170
National Socialist Workers' Party, 32
Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti (Left, Denmark's Liberal Party), 131
Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE), 487
DeSantis, Ron, xxvi, 149, 214, 278, 285, 317
desegregation, 18, 98–99, 206, 221
Dewey, Robert F., 170
Díaz-Canel, Miguel, 140

Dichter, BJ, 299, 300

Die Heimat (The Homeland), 253

Discourse on Colonialism (Césaire), 29

discrimination, 117, 118–19, 150, 174, 280–81

disinformation, 393, 398–99, 404–5, 426, 429

disparate impact doctrine, 100–1

divisive concepts, 210–12

Doctrine of Discovery, The, 287

Dolan, Kevin, 433–34

dominant power, xxxv–xxxvi

Domovinski Pokret (Homeland Movement), 305

Don’t Say Gay law (2022), 149, 447

Dreams from My Father (Obama), 317

Dreams from Our Founding Fathers (DeSantis), 317

Dreyfus, Alfred, 35–36

Ducey, Doug, 285

Duda, Andrzej, 132, 217

Dudley, Steven, 395

Duke, David, 324

Dupont-Aignan, Nicolas, 164

Duque, Iván, 249

Düsseldorf Forum, 264, 266–68, 283–84, 289–90

Dutton, Peter, 508

Dzintars, Raivis, 33, 313

E

Earle-Sears, Winsome, 224

Early, Jubal A., 424–25

Earnest, John, 64

Ebner, Julia, 191

Ecuador, 422

Edict of Milan, 94

Edict of Nantes, 164

Edmund Burke Foundation, 278

Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond (Conservative People's Party of Estonia), 75, 251, 259

Egypt, 88–89

Eichmann, Adolf, 257

Eisenhower, Dwight D., 98, 491

El Salvador

Alianza Republiana Nacionalista (ARENA), 397–98, 497
alliance with U.S., 388, 430
constitutional reform, 497
deportations to, 395
Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), 394, 397–98
gang violence, 394–95, 437
gangs as replacers in, 388–89
homicide rates, 394, 400–1
insurrection, 411–12, 427–28, 436
media distrust, 438
Nuevas Ideas (New Ideas), 397, 437, 491, 497
prison system, 437
remigration into prison system, 388
Trump's portrayal of, 387–88
electoral dictatorship, 79
electoral fraud, xxvi, xxix, 59, 404–5
electoral power, great replacement theory and, xxvi
elites, as replacists, xxii, xxiii–xxiv
Eliyahu, Amihai, 471

Ellinikí Lýsi (Greek Solution), 188, 250

Emancipation Proclamation, 352–53

Enabling Act (1933), 3

Englisbee, Angie, 65

Enough! (Chega!), 162, 250, 306–7, 381, 456, 459

Enríquez-Ominami, Marco, 107, 123, 150

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), 73, 117, 218

equality, xxxvii

Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip, xxviii, 66–67, 274, 421

Erekat, Saeb, 477

Eritrea, 89

Ernst, Stephan, 271

Esterhazy, Ferdinand Walsin, 36

Estonia, 75, 251, 259

eternal immigrants, xix, 9

eternal natives, xix

ethnic antagonism, 485–86

ethnic groups, 82

ethnic substitution, 349, 355, 357

ethnocentrism, xxvi

ethnocultural unity, 260

ethnopluralism, 260

eugenics, 81, 236–37, 238–39, 287

Eurabia (Littman), 199–200

Europa Viva 24 rally, 265

Europe

- ascension of great replacement parties throughout, 74–75
- Christian demographic trends, 360
- colonization of Africa, 367–68
- history of Muslims in, 94–95
- immigration in, xviii–xix, xxi–xxii, 36
- migrant crisis, xxxiv, 88–93, 130–31, 253
- Muslim demographic trends, 360
- New Right, 275

Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy, 250, 251

Europe of Nations and Freedom, 251

European Alliance for Freedom, 250–51

European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), 250, 457

European Economic Community (EEC), 169, 173

European Parliament

2014 elections, 14–15, 75, 177, 184
2019 elections, 190, 250, 290, 377
2024 elections, 265, 456, 460
group functions within, 250
Thatcher's opposition to, 171
European People's Party, 457, 458
European Union (EU)
Brexit, xxxiv, 185–86, 188–89, 499
creation of, 172
Euroscepticism, 166, 167–70, 176–77, 295–96
financial bailouts, 252
German anti-Nazi group, 168
opposition to, 171–72, 250–51
prehistory of, 169–70
Russian sanctions, 452–53
sovereign debt crisis, 30
Euroscepticism, 166, 167–70, 176–77, 250, 252, 295–96
executive orders, 210–11, 219–20

F

Facebook, 61, 127, 133, 160, 225, 228, 281, 297, 315, 323, 326–28, 366, 370, 378–79, 397, 399, 416, 422, 428–30, 474

Facta, Luigi, 337

Fanon, Frantz, 35, 366

Farage, Kirsten, 164, 166

Farage, Nigel

- Anti-Federalist League membership, 173
- Brexit Party, 190, 251
- Bruges Group, 172
- Conservative Party conference attendance, 163–64, 171, 177, 178
- CPAC Hungary address, 277
- CPAC U.S. attendance, 277–78
- criticism of Conservative Party, 183, 184–85
- departure from Conservative Party, 172
- Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy, 250, 251
- Euroscepticism, 166, 169
- GB News appearances, 163–64, 167, 171, 173, 178, 180, 181, 184, 191

great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii
Jones interview, 169
NatCon, 278
orchestrated distancing of, 373
Parliament election, 461
Powell and, 173, 175–76
praise for Putin, 462
Reform UK, 190–91, 499–500
UKIP leadership, 176–77, 184–86, 189
fascism, xxx, 337–39, 340, 342, 347, 355–57, 467–68
Fayyad, Abdallah, 364
Federal Elections Bill (1890), 221
Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), 487
feminism, xxiv, xxvi, 24–25, 207–8, 210–11, 274, 411–12
Feng, Daoyou, 406
Feola, Michael, 274
Ferrari, Laure, 164, 166
Ferry, Jules, 98
Fiala, Radim, 131
Fidesz party, 60, 77–79, 226, 456

Fields, James Alex, Jr., xxv

Figaro, Le (periodical), 36

Financial Times (periodical), 36

Finchelstein, Federico, 249

Fini, Gianfranco, 341, 346–47, 348

Finkelstein, Daniel, 191

Finland, 32, 150, 162, 250–51, 259, 422

Finns Party (Perussuomalaiset), 32, 150, 162, 250–51, 259, 422

"firehose of disinformation," 398–99, 404–5, 426, 437, 485

First Nations, 315

Fjordman (Jensen, Peder Are Nøstvold), 25

flags, 320–22

Flemish Interest (Vlaams Belang), 133, 223, 251, 456, 459

Flemish National Union, 32

Fletcher, Micah, 261

Flores, Maria, 65

Flores, Raul, 65

Floyd, George, 49, 85, 86, 162, 205, 361, 399

Flynn, Michael, 408

FMLN. *See* Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional

Fontana, Attilio, 373–74

Foreman, Dan, 281

Fortuyn, Pim, 199

Forza Italia (Forward Italy), 346–47

Forza Nuova (New Force), 372

"Fourteen Words," 212, 213–14, 230

Fox, Terry, 304, 314

Fox News, 55, 60–61, 77, 204, 205, 326, 434

France

- Action Française (French Action), 36
- antiracist demonstrations, 49
- antisemitism in, 35–36
- belief in anti-White racism, 204–5
- CNews, 62
- colonial expansion, 98
- Debout la France (France Arise), 164
- Dreyfus Affair, 35–36
- La France Insoumise (France Unbowed), 205
- French Resistance, 4

Front National (National Front), 4, 10, 12, 13–16, 32, 48, 115, 170, 226, 250–51, 366

Génération Identitaire (Identitarian Generation), 14–15

German invasion of, 3–4

Great Mosque of Paris, 35

Hérault, xvii–xx, 35

immigration to, xviii–xix, xxi, 34–35

Jefferson in, xvii, xx

job-taking propaganda campaigns, 91

Luhaka police beating, 48–49

military conscription, 487

New Right, 275

Nice truck attack, 133–34

Paris terror attacks, 130–31

Protestant Huguenot refugees, 164–65, 178

racism in, 83, 116

Rassemblement National (National Rally), xxviii, 50, 131, 204, 251, 286, 382, 456, 460, 496

Rassemblement National Populaire (National Popular Rally), 50

Reconquête! (Reconquest!), 259–60, 286

religious symbol bans, 37–38

Les Républicains (The Republicans), 286

trucker convoys, 327–28

Vél' d'Hiv' raid, 343

Vichy government, 3–4, 5, 36, 343

France Arise (Debout la France), 164

La France Insoumise (France Unbowed), 205

France Unbowed (La France Insoumise), 205

Franco, Francisco, 265

Fratelli d'Italia (Brothers of Italy), 250, 336, 339, 357, 365, 456

Frederick the Great, 257

"free soil" advocates, 352

Freedom and Direct Democracy (Svoboda a Přímá Demokracie), 131, 226, 251, 458

Freedom Convoy, 313–14

Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs), 189, 251, 277, 285–86, 307, 327, 456, 459, 484

freedoms, great replacement theory and, xxvi

Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Freedom Party), 189, 251, 277, 285–86, 307, 327, 456, 459, 484

Fremskrittspartiet (Progress Party), 21, 32

French Action (Action Française), 36

Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), 394, 397–98

Friedman, Milton, 142

Friedrich, Sebastian, 260

Fritzsche, Peter, 258

Front National (National Front), 4, 10, 12, 13–16, 32, 48, 115, 170, 226, 250–51, 366

Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque (Common Man's Front), 358

FSB, 451, 481

Fuerza Popular (Popular Force), 33, 188

Fugitive Slave Act (1793), 41

Fujimori, Alberto, 142

Funke, Manuel, 30

Fusiek, Dawid, 226

G

Gaddafi, Muammar, 89, 137

Gadsden, Christopher, 321

Gadsden flag, 321

Gál, Kinga, 457

Galili, Shai, 473

Gallant, Yoav, 471, 489

Galli della Loggia, Ernesto, 359–60

Gansel, Jürgen, 7

Garnisonkirche, 257–58

Garriga, Ignacio, 159

Gašparovič, Ivan, 32

Gauland, Alexander, 135, 252, 253, 258–59

Gaulle, Charles de, 36–37, 169

Gaza, 469–77, 489–90

GB News, 155–56, 163–64, 180, 181, 191

GEBLIZ, 66–67

Genç, Kaya, 67

gender equality, xxvi, 418

gender identity, 148–49, 150, 220, 274

gender ideology, xxiv, 150, 249

Gendron, Payton S., 64–69, 128, 230, 330

Génération Identitaire (Identitarian Generation), 14–15

genocide, 29, 43

genocide theory, xxiv, 472–73, 476, 477, 494–96

Gerarchia (periodical), 355

German Communist Party, 248

Germany

- Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany, or Af D), 75, 134–35, 223, 226, 243–44, 250–51, 252–53, 258–59, 260, 263, 266–68, 289–90, 308, 366, 454, 457–58, 498
- Ansbach bombing, 135
- Antifaschistische Aktion (Antifascist Action), 361
- antiracist demonstrations, 244
- asylum applicants, 92, 96, 253
- Beer Hall Putsch, 505
- Bund Heimattreuer Jugend (League of Patriotic Youth), 264, 267
- Christlich Demokratische Union (CDU, Christian Democratic Union), 263–64, 498
- COVID-19 pandemic response, 308
- "cult of guilt," 254
- denazification campaign, 122
- Die Heimat (The Homeland), 253

Düsseldorf Forum, 266–68, 283–84, 289–90

German Communist Party, 248

Halle synagogue shooting, 271

Hanau shootings, 270–71

Heimattreue Deutsche Jugend (Patriotic German Youth), 267

insurrection, 505

invasion of France, 3–4

invasion of Poland, 444

invasion of Soviet Union, 121

Munich shooting, 134–35

Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (National Democratic Party of Germany), 253

Nazi Party, xxvii, 3, 31, 120–22, 124, 143, 168, 248–49, 507

Nius (News), 63

occupation of Belgium, 250

Potsdam Day, 257

Reichstag fire, 248

secret remigration meeting (Düsseldorf Forum), 244–45, 247, 256–57, 263–64, 283–84, 289–90

Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD, Social Democratic Party), 243, 498

Wannsee Conference, 256–57

Gessen, M., 393

Gilley, Bruce, 98

Gioventù Nazionale (National Youth), 356–57

Giuliani, Rudy, 205, 408

Gladstone, William Ewart, 234

Glover, John M., 45

Goebbels, Joseph, xxii, 211, 382, 500

Goggin, Ben, 277

Goldberg, Whoopi, 6, 8–9

Goldstein, Baruch, 472

Goldwater, Barry, 275

Gómez, Ramón, 148

GOProud, 276

Göring, Hermann, 124

Goswami, Arnab, 62–63

Gotthardt, Frank, 63

Grande, Ariana, 137

Grant, Hyun Jung, 406

Grant, Madison, xxx–xxxi, 236, 237

Great Depression, 31

Great Recession, xxxiv, 27–33, 252, 496

Great Replacement, The (Camus), xx, xxiii, xxxvii, 508

great replacement financiers, xxiii–xxiv, xxvii, 14, 45, 190–91, 266, 299, 462

great replacement of history, 350, 354, 365–66, 476–77

great replacement parties, xxiv, 30, 74–76, 249–50, 453

great replacement political equation, 43–44

great replacement politicians, xxiv, xxxiv–xxxv, 28, 31, 141

great replacement soldiers, xxv, 23, 64, 128–29, 136, 230, 261–62, 408

great replacement theorists, xxiv, 4–5, 158–59, 238–39

great replacement theory

- defined, xxiv, xxvii
- development of, xx–xxiii
- electoral support for, xxviii–xxx
- emergence of, xxxiv
- mutations of, xxvi–xxvii
- as neo-Nazi theory, xxxii, 5
- political support for, xxvii–xxviii

as a political theory, xxx

purpose of, xxxvi–xxxvii

subcategories, xxv–xxvi

as war theory, 138–39, 274

Grebien, Thomas, 267

GRECE (Groupement de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne), 275

Greece

as birthplace of Western civilization, 275

Ellinikí Lýsi (Greek Solution), 188, 250

Niki (Victory) party, 306

Greek Solution (Ellinikí Lýsi), 188, 250

Greene, Marjorie Taylor, 354

Griffin, Grant, 7

Grims, Branko, 259, 356

Groscurth, Anneliese, 168

Groscurth, Georg, 168

Groupement de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne (GRECE), 275

Gruevski, Nikola, 416–17

Guardian, The (periodical), 155, 421, 499

Guatemala, 141, 423

Gugino, Martin, 86

gun safety measures, xxvi

Gunnlaugsson, Sigmundur Davíð, 226

Guo, Jian, 457

H

Haitian pet-eating rumors, 378–79

Haldeman, Joshua N., 434–35

Haldeman, Maye, 434–35

Haley, Nikki, 160

Halla-aho, Jussi, 115, 422

Halle synagogue shooting, 271

Hamas, 138, 469, 473, 475–76, 477, 480

Hannah-Jones, Nikole, 318

Hannity, Sean, 486

Hanson, Pauline, xxviii, 229, 231, 327

Harris, Kamala, 9, 494

Hartwig, Roland, 267, 289

hate crimes, 70, 254, 405–6

Havemann, Robert, 168

Hawley, Josh, 278

Haywood, Charles, 433

Hazony, Yoram, 278

headscarves, 37–38

Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), 213

Hegedüs, Zsuzsa, 114–15

Heimattreue Deutsche Jugend (Patriotic German Youth), 267

Heinö, Andreas Johansson, 92

Hemphill, John, 221

Henry of Portugal, 97

Hepburn, Bob, 316

Herf, Jeffrey, xxxiv

Heritage Foundation, 66, 344

Hernández, Adolfo Cerros, 65

Hernández, Juan Orlando, 429–30

Hernández, Tanya Katerí, 287

Herridge, Catherine, 85

Hershman, Tim, 203–4

Hess, Israel, 472

Hess, Rudolf, 124

Hetherington, Marc J., xxix

Heyer, Heather, xxv

Higuchi, Keiko Fujimori, 33, 141–42

Hill, Anita, 161

Hillje, Johannes, 498

Himmler, Heinrich, 237, 238, 284, 471

Hindenburg, Paul von, 257–58

Hinton, E. H., 45

hiring policies, 118

Hirschfeld, Magnus, 109–10, 111–13

Hitler, Adolf, xxv, 29, 36

- Ardeatine Caves massacre, 343
- death, xxxi, 339, 495
- dictatorship, 3, 121, 124
- fiction writings, 493
- Final Solution, 284, 477
- German cult of guilt despised by, 254
- Grant's influence on, xxx–xxxi, 236

invasion justifications, 444
Madagascar Plan, 284
Mein Kampf, xxxi, 236, 371, 466, 505
Mussolini and, 337, 338–39
Nazi Party, 248, 507
Potsdam Day, 257–58
propaganda, 500
racial hygiene beliefs, 239
remigration proposals, 476
rise to power, 110
Schutzstaffel (SS), 321
"second career" of, xxxii–xxxiii
Spanish Civil War, 265
Stoddard's meeting with, 237
in Vienna, 493–94, 500–1, 503–4
withdrawal from League of Nations, 168
during World War I, 57–58
zero-sum story, 18
Hitler Youth, 120
Hobbs, Katie, 285

Hobolt, Sara, 176–77

Hochschild, Arlie Russell, 7–8

Höcke, Björn, 258–59

Hockenos, Paul, 255

Hofer, Norbert, 189

Hoffman, Alexander Gerhard, 65

Hollande, François, 16

Holocaust, 80–81, 132, 237, 246, 476–77, 495

Holocaust denial, xxxi, 5

Holocaust Memorial, 259

Holton, Betty, 203

The Homeland (Die Heimat), 253

Homeland Movement (Domovinski Pokret), 305

homophobia, xxiv, xxvi, 110, 148–50, 156, 204, 254

homosexuality, 109–10. *See also* LGBTQ populations

Honduras, 429–30

hooks, bell, 24

Horowitz, David, 200

Houellebecq, Michel, 382

House Freedom Caucus, 178

housing, 455

Huber, Anthony, 224

Huguenots, 164–65, 178

Huhtasaari, Laura, 259

Hungary

border fence, 91

COVID-19 pandemic response, 294–95

CPAC Hungary, 277

Fidesz party, 60, 77–79, 226, 456

homosexuality and gender identity materials ban, 149

Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary), 443

job-taking propaganda campaigns, 91

media control in, 78–79

Nazi collaborators in, 81

oppression of Roma people, 75, 80, 81

population decline, 101

racial data collection banned, 80, 83

racism in, 83

voter tourism, 77–78

World War I, 57–58

Huss, Mathilda Martina (Augusta Presteid), 263–64

al-Husseini, Haj Amin, 476–77

Huy, Gerrit, 267

I

Ibarra, José Antonio, 363

Iceland, 226

Identitarian Generation (Génération Identitaire), 14–15

Identitarian movement, 274–75, 285

Identity and Democracy (ID) group, 250–51, 377, 456

Identity Evropa, 15

Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996), 395

Ilyin, Ivan Alexandrovich, 467–68

immigration

- from Africa, xviii–xx, xxi, 34–35, 374
- asylum seekers, 89–90, 92, 181
- to Canada, 309–10
- Catholic, 50–51, 56
- COVID-19 pandemic linked to, 296

equation of with crime, 377–79

to Hérault, xviii–xx, 35

to Italy, 374

job-taking propaganda campaigns, 90–91

Muslim, 23–24, 34–35, 229

national security crisis propaganda campaigns, 90

off-shore processing, 181

past-good-immigrant vs. present-bad-immigrant, 235, 501

Protestant Huguenot refugees, 164–65, 178

recruitment of White immigrants, 287–88

U.S. policies, 235–38, 395

White European, xix, xxi–xxii, 36

White people, 102

Immigration Restriction Act (1901), 234

imperialism, xxxiv

Independent Democratic Union (Unión Demócrata Independiente), 144, 459

India

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP, Indian People's Party), 62, 76, 249–50, 460

Gadchinchale mob beating, 63

Hindutva activists, 76

immigration to UK from, 181–83

Republic TV, 62–63

Indian People's Party (Bharatiya Janata Party), 62, 76, 249–50, 460

Individual Freedom Act (2022), xxvi

Indonesia, 197–98

inflation, 452–55

Ingraham, Laura, 324

Instagram, 428, 474

Institute for Sexual Science, 110

Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 429

insurrections

Brazil, 410–11, 418–19, 424, 431

Bulgaria, 417

Confederates, 424–25

El Salvador, 411–12, 427–28, 436

Germany, 505

North Macedonia, 416–17

South Korea, 417–18

United States, 404–5, 407–8, 413–15, 425–26, 505

International Criminal Court, 489

International Holocaust Remembrance Day, 131, 245, 246–47, 252, 262

International Women's Day, 67

Internet Research Agency (IRA), 399

interracial reproduction, xxiv

inversion of antiracism, 205, 206–9, 214–15, 219, 281–82, 369

involuntarily celibate (incels), 270

Iraq, 89

Ireland, 460–61

Irsay, Jim, 204

Ishiki Kaikaku University, 304–5

Islam, 95–96. *See also* Muslim populations

Islamophobia, xxiv, xxvi, 138, 196, 200, 325

Islamic Cultural Centre, 323

Islamic State (ISIS), 89, 130, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138

Israel

Channel 14, 62

Likud (Consolidation) party, 133, 381, 472–73
military conscription, 489
Nation-State Law (2018), 478–79
October 7 attacks, 469, 480
Otzma Yehudit (Jewish Power), 75, 471, 490
Religious Zionism party, 280, 473, 490
remigration proposals, 285
terror attacks in, 133
war with Gaza, 469–77, 489–90
Israeli Defense Forces, 323
Issmer, Hartmut, 266
issue entrepreneurs, 177
Italian Social Movement (Movimento Sociale Italiano), 339, 340–41, 346
Italian Socialist Party, 337
Italy
Alleanza dei Progressisti (Alliance of Progressives), 347
Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance), 346, 348–49
Altar of the Fatherland, 335
antisemitism, 355–57

Ardeatine Caves massacre, 343

Constitutional Arch, 358–59

COVID-19 pandemic response, 296, 335–36

Forza Italia (Forward Italy), 346–47

Forza Nuova (New Force), 372

Fratelli d'Italia (Brothers of Italy), 250, 336, 339, 357, 365, 456

Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque (Common Man's Front), 358

Gioventù Nazionale (National Youth), 356–57

homicide rates, 374–75

immigration to, 374

Italian Socialist Party, 337

Lega (League), 250, 251, 371, 373–74

Lega Nord (Northern League), 226, 371

Liberation Day, 335–36, 339, 342–43, 344–45, 354–57, 358, 369, 383

Macerata shootings, 372, 373

military conscription, 489

Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI, Italian Social Movement), 339, 340–41, 346

National Fascist Party, 337, 358

Nazi occupation, 336

Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, 335, 344–45, 369

Unitary Socialist Party, 338

Years of Lead, 341

Ivan III, 442

Ivanov, Gjorge, 32

J

Jackson, Ketanji Brown, 101

Janša, Janez, 74–75

January 6 insurrection, 404–5, 407–8, 413–15, 425–26, 504–5

Japan

antisemitism in, 381

COVID-19 pandemic response, 304–5

Liberal Democratic Party, 499

Sanseitō (Political Participation Party), 304, 381, 499

Jara, Jeannette, 498–99

Jefferson, Thomas, xvii, xx, 41, 42, 319

Jensen, Peder Are Nøstvold (Fjordman), 25

Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs, 477

Jewish populations
antiracist, xxiv
antisemitism, xxiv, xxxi, xxxiv, 24, 35–36, 81, 204, 209, 220, 355–57, 494, 500–1
demographic scarcity, 374
Holocaust, 80–81, 132, 237, 246, 476–77, 495
Madagascar Plan, 284
misrepresentation of as invaders, 262
October 7 attacks, 469, 480
religious clothing bans, 37–38
Wannsee Conference, 256–57
Jewish Power (Otzma Yehudit), 75, 471, 490
Jim Crow, 43, 98, 174, 221, 353, 354
Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary), 443
Johnson, Andrew, 42–43
Johnson, Boris, 161, 181–82, 190, 214
Johnson, Ron, 58, 326
Jones, Alex, 169
Jovem Pan, 61–62
Juarez, Luis Alfonzo, 65

K

Kaczyński, Jarosław, 132

Kamiya, Sohei, 304–5, 381

Kast, Barbara, 122

Kast, Christian, 142

Kast, José Antonio

- admiration for Pinochet, 140–41, 142, 173
- COVID-19 pandemic response, 307
- defender of Chile's European heritage, 280
- Europa Viva 24 rally message, 265
- family background, 120–22
- great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii
- Madrid Charter signing, 265
- *Mercurio, El,* support for, 124
- opposition to homosexuality, 148, 150
- orchestrated distancing of, 151
- Partido Republicano founding, 105
- presidential campaign, 105–7, 120, 144, 147, 150–51, 459, 498
- sensationalization of crime, 363

support for Cuba, 140

UDI resignation, 144–45

UNASUR skepticism, 168

Viva 22 rally message, 265

Kast, Michael, 120–22, 123, 142, 187, 339

Kast, Miguel, 122, 142

Kast, Olga, 122

Kattán, Armando Bukele, 392

Keita, Sekou, 96

Kershaw, Ian, 500, 504

KGB, 451

Khalid, Iqra, 325

Kickl, Herbert, xxviii, 277, 307, 327, 456, 459, 484

Kılıçdaroğlu, Kemal, 421

Kim, Suncha, 406

King, Amy, 342

King, Bernice, 159

King, Kevin, 320

King, Martin Luther, Jr., 159, 192, 366

King, Pat, 297–98, 330

Kirk, Charlie, 223–24, 424

Kirkus Reviews (periodical), 12

Klein, Ezra, 484

Klingbeil, Lars, 243–44

Knights Templar, 262

Know Nothing Party, 55–56

Koch, David, 231

Komorowski, Bronisław, 132

Kostadinov, Kostadin, 75, 306

Kouachi, Chérif, 126

Kouachi, Saïd, 126

Kovács, Béla, 443

Krah, Maximilian, 457–58

Krause, Tim, 267

Krause, Werner, 134–35

Ku Klux Klan, 50–51, 56, 187, 236, 354

Kumar, Akit, 393

Kuper, Simon, 36

Kurds, 67

Kurer, Thomas, 455

L

Labour Party (Norway), 21

Labour Party (UK), 461, 499

Lahouaiej-Bouhlel, Mohamed, 134

Lakhta Internet Research (LIR), 399

Landau, Christopher, 102

Landhaus Adlon, 256–57

Landra, Guido, 355

Landriault, Maurice, 321

Lane, David, 213–14, 230

Lanza, Adam, 169

Lapouge, Georges Vacher de, 112

Latvia, 33, 37, 75, 313

Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość), 132, 217, 250, 278

Le Pen, Jean-Marie, xxxviii, 4–5, 11, 12, 13–14, 26, 36, 37, 48, 50, 98, 170, 199, 506

Le Pen, Marine

- on antifa, 362
- Bissonnette's admiration for, 323
- break with father, 14, 50

on Brexit, 188

on *Charlie Hebdo* shootings, 126

COVID-19 pandemic response, 295

denials that France is racist, 116

embezzlement conviction, 506

endorsements, xxxviii, 164

Europa Viva 24 rally message, 265

Euroscepticism, 167, 168

family background, 11, 48, 49

great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii

historical whitewashing by, 5

as leader of National Front, 13–16, 115

media profiles, 11, 36

on Munich shooting, 134

on Nice truck attack, 134

orchestrated distancing of, 14, 15, 475–76

on Paris terror attacks, 131

Patriots for Europe, 456–57

popularity of, 62

praise for Trump, 225, 251

praise for Wilders, 222–23

presidential campaign, 9–10, 14–16, 27, 50, 229, 382

remigration proposals, 286

rewriting of history, 343

Russian loans, 13–14, 462

60 Minutes appearance, 3, 5, 6, 9–10, 11, 16, 26, 27, 34–35, 37–38, 48–51

support for Israel, 475–76

support for truckers, 328

use of racial data, 82–83

on wokeism, 214

League (Lega), 250, 251, 371, 373–74

League of Empire Loyalists, 169–70

League of Nations, 168

League of Patriotic Youth (Bund Heimattreuer Jugend), 264, 267

Leal, Hugo, 186

Lechevalier, Christelle, 15

Lee, Robert E., 425

Left, Denmark's Liberal Party (Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti), 131

Lega (League), 250, 251, 371, 373–74

Lega Nord (Northern League), 226, 371

Lehman, Julius Friedrich, 239

Lehman Brothers, 28

Lemon, Don, 432

Lenin, Vladimir, 450

Lenz, Fritz, 238–39

Leopold II, 367

Leopold III, 250

Levant, Ezra, 61

LGBTQ populations

    hate crimes against, 254

    homophobia, xxiv, xxvi, 110, 148–50, 156, 204, 254

    legislation against, 149, 447

    transphobia, xxvi, 274

Liberal Democratic Party (Japan), 499

liberal democracy, 358–60

Liberal Party (Canada), 303, 331

Liberal Party (Partido Liberal), 381

Liberal Russia (Liberalnaya Rossiya), 481

liberalism, xxx

Liberalnaya Rossiya (Liberal Russia), 481

Libertad Avanza, La (Liberty Advances), 305, 421

Liberty Advances (La Libertad Avanza), 305, 421

Libya, 89

Lich, Tamara, 297–99, 330

life expectancies, 71

Likud (Consolidation) party, 133, 381, 472–73

Lilley, Brian, 61

Limmer, Gisela, 264

Limmer, Hans Christian, 264

Limmer, Ludwig, 264

Lincoln, Abraham, 40, 42, 352–53, 425

Ling, Justin, 321

Linwood Islamic Centre, 228–29

Listhaug, Sylvi, 32

Lithuania, 305

Littman, Gisèle (Bat Ye'or), 199–200

Litvak, Meir, 477

lived experiences, 157

livelihood, great replacement theory and, xxv

Lloyd, Will, 191

Lombardi, Cesar, 55–56

Lombardi, Lisa, 56

London, John, 165

London Bridge attack, 137–38

Long, Robert Aaron, 406

Los Meconios, 266

Lost Cause Regained, The (Pollard), 43

Loubet, Émile, 36

Loury, Glenn, 278

Lübke, Walter, 271

Lucke, Bernd, 252

Luhaka, Théo, 48–49

Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 410

Luxembourg, 422, 456

lynching, 56, 63

M

M: Son of the Century (Scurati), 342

Maastricht Treaty (1992), 172

Macerata shootings, 372, 373

Macron, Emmanuel, 16, 83, 286, 295, 308, 382, 460

Madagascar Plan, 284

Madrid Charter, 265

Madrid Forum, 265–66

Magyars, 94–95

Mair, Thomas, 187–88

Major John, 172

Mali, Eliyahu, 472

Manchester Arena bombing, 137

Mangum, Destinee, 261

Manifesto for Germany (Af D), 259

manifestos

- Balliet's, 271
- Breivik's, 22, 23–26
- Crusius's, 230
- Gendron's, 65–66, 230
- Mussolini's, 355–57
- Rathjen's, 269–70

Roof's, 127–28

Tarrant's, 230, 231, 273, 372, 432

Manning, Patrick, 368

"Mantra, The" (Whitaker), 206, 207–8

Māori people, 280, 422

Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13), 394, 402, 428

Marambio, Héctor Concha, 144

Marazzo, Tom, 298

Marconi, Cecilia, 226

Maréchal, Marion, 260, 366

Marenches, Alexandre de, 12

Marie-Clotilde (princess), 57

Marr, Wilhelm, 494

Marshall, Pal, 155

Marshall, Tanji Reed, 211

al-Masri, Mohammed Diab Ibrahim, 489

Massey, Katherine, 65

Mastropietro, Pamela, 370, 372

Matild Palace hotel, 57

Matsuda, Manabu, 304

Matsunaga, Miku, 134–35

Matteotti, Giacomo, 337–38

Matthei, Evelyn, 459

Matthews, Miriam, 398

Mau Mau rebellion, 182

Maurras, Charles, 36

May, Theresa, 137–38, 189, 190

Mayer, Nonna, 51

Mayotte, 286–87

McAllister, Neeley, 212

McCabe, Robert, 86

McCarthy, Kevin, 351, 425

McGhee, Heather, 18, 28

McQueen, Paula, 185

McVeigh, Timothy, 187–88

McWhorter, John, 25, 179

media outlets, 60–63, 78–79, 155–56

Mediterranean culture, xviii–xix

Medvedev, Dmitry, 482

Meijer, Annie, 197–98

Mein Kampf (Hitler), xxxi, 12, 236, 371, 466, 505

Mélenchon, Jean-Luc, 205

Meloni, Anna, 341

Meloni, Francesco, 341

Meloni, Giorgia

- Ancestors student collective, 341
- birth, 341
- on *Charlie Hebdo* shootings, 127
- COVID-19 pandemic response, 296
- on ethnic substitution, 349, 357
- Europa Viva 24 rally message, 265
- European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), 457
- family background, 341
- great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii
- Liberation Day commemoration, 335–36, 339, 343, 344–45, 346, 354–57, 358, 364, 365, 369, 383
- Madrid Charter signing, 265
- MSI Youth Front, 341
- *Nigerian Mafia,* 370, 377–78
- orchestrated distancing of, 357, 373

on Paris terror attacks, 131

political career, 349, 380

rewriting of history, 342–43, 349–50, 368

Viva 22 rally message, 265

Menchik, Jeremy, 197

Mengele, Josef, 109

Mercurio, El (periodical), 123–24

Merkel, Angel, 96, 247, 253, 263–64

Metten, Anne, 308

Metzl, Jonathan, 504

Mexican-American War, 55

Michelini, Arturo, 340

Michels, Paul Andre, 406

migrant crime and criminals, 363, 380, 387–88, 498, 499

migrant crisis (2015), xxxiv, 88–93, 130–31, 253

Milačić, Marko, 313–14

Milei, Javier, xxviii, 265, 305, 420–21, 486–87

military service, 488–89

militias, 488–89

Miljanov, Marko, 313

Miller, Henry, 55

Miller, Mary E., xxv

Miller, Max, 472

Miller, Stephen, 13, 216–18, 278, 318

Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party), 421

Minjoo Party (Democratic Party), 411

Mintz, Steven, 367

Mirilashvili, Yitzchak, 62

misinformation, 393

MKB Bank, 14

model minorities, 181

Modi, Narendra, xxviii, 62, 75–76, 150, 249–50, 388, 460, 462

Mohamed, Walio, 261

Molon Labe flag, 321–22

Montenegro, 313–14

Montt, Efraín Ríos, 141

Morawiecki, Mateusz, 278

Morgan, Piers, 115

Moriel, Sarah Ester Regaldo, 65

Mörig, Arne Friedrich, 267

Mörig, Gernot, 264, 267, 283, 289

Mother Emmanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, 127–28

Mother Jones (periodical), 274

Mourão, Hamilton, 183

Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik), 443

Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI, Italian Social Movement), 339, 340–41, 346

Movimiento Semilla (Seed Movement), 423

MS-13 (Mara Salvatrucha), 394, 402, 428

MSI. *See* Movimento Sociale Italiano

Mubarak, Hosni, 89

Mudde, Cas, 505

Mueller Report, 399

Müller, Mario, 267

multiculturalism, xxv–xxvi, 24, 215, 239

Murdoch, Rupert, 60

Murray, Charles A., 433

Musk, Elon, xxiii–xxiv, xxv, 431–35, 462, 487

Musk, Errol, 434–35

Muslim populations

in China, 38, 67, 274

classified as terrorists, 146–47

European demographic trends, 360

European history of, 94–95

immigration by, 23–24, 34–35, 229

Islamic extremism, 137–38

misrepresentation of as invaders, 262

religious clothing bans, 34–35, 37–38

Trump's travel ban, 324

Mussolini, Alessandra, 346

Mussolini, Benito, 265, 336, 337–39, 340, 342, 347, 348–49, 355–57

Mutz, Diana C., 31

N

NAACP, 221

Nacionālā Apvienība (National Alliance), 33, 75, 313

Nacionalinis Susivienijimas (National Alliance), 305

Namkai-Meche, Taliesin, 261

Natal Conference, 432, 433–34

National Alliance (Alleanza Nazionale), 346, 348–49

National Alliance (Nacionālā Apvienība), 33, 75, 313

National Alliance (Nacionalinis Susivienijimas), 305

National Alliance (U.S.), 187, 207

National Conservative Conference (NatCon), 278–79, 294

National Crusade Party (Partido Cruzada Nacional), 420

National Democratic Party of Germany (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands), 253

National Fascist Party, 337, 358

National Front (Front National), 4, 10, 12, 13–16, 32, 48, 115, 170, 226, 250–51, 366

National Front (Switzerland), 32

National Front (UK), 170, 176

National Life and Character (Pearson), 233–34

National Party (South Africa), 45

National Party of Honduras (Partido Nacional de Honduras), 429

National Popular Rally (Rassemblement National Populaire), 50

National Rally (Rassemblement National), xxvii, 50, 131, 204, 251, 286, 382, 456, 460, 496

National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei). *See* Nazi Party

National Socialist Movement (UK), 169

National Socialist Movement (U.S.), 30

National Socialist Workers' Party (Denmark), 32

National Vanguard, 207

National Youth (Gioventù Nazionale), 356–57

Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (National Democratic Party of Germany), 253

nationalism, xxx, xxxiv

Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi), 421

Nationality and Borders Bill (2022), 181

Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party). *See* Nazi Party

Navalnaya, Yulia, 483

Navalny, Alexei, 482, 483

Nazi Party, xxvii, 3, 31, 120–22, 124, 143, 168, 248–49, 507

Nazism, xxx–xxxiii, 4–5, 24, 80–81, 109, 121, 238–39, 495

Ndongo, Bertrand, 160

neoliberalism, 142

neo-Nazism, xxxi–xxxii, 4–5, 109, 239, 495–96, 501

Netanyahu, Benjamin, xxviii, 62, 133, 381, 469, 472–74, 475–78, 489–90

Netherlands

brown cafés, 195–96

burqa bans, 37

colonization of Indonesia, 197–98

COVID-19 pandemic response, 307

Partij Voor de Vrijheid (PVV, Party for Freedom), 196, 200–1, 209, 226, 232, 251, 456

Volkspartij Voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD, People's Party for Freedom and Democracy), 196, 199, 201

Zwarte Piet (Black Pete), 208–9

New Democratic Party (NDP), 323–24

New European Order (NEO), 5

New Force (Forza Nuova), 372

New Ideas (Nuevas Ideas), 397, 437, 491, 497

New Republic Party (Partido Nueva República), 249

New Right, 275

New York Times, The (periodical), 215, 218, 273, 318, 480

New York Times Magazine, The (periodical), 11, 490

New Zealand

ACT New Zealand, 422

Christchurch massacre, 228–31, 313

Māori people, 280

New Zealand First, 32, 226, 280, 327, 422

trucker convoys, 327

New-York Tribune (periodical), 352

Nez Perce, 281

Nicholls, Leslie, 148

Nicolás Has Two Dads (Nicholls and Gómez), 148

Nigeria, 89

Nigerian Mafia (Meloni), 370, 377–78

Niki (Victory) party, 306

Nius (News), 63

NKVD, 451

nocence, 388

Nolzen, Armin, 120

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 167–68, 464

North Macedonia

Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (Socijaldemokratski Sojuz na Makedonij), 416

VMRO-DPMNE, 32, 416–17, 459

Northern Guard, 300

Northern League (Lega Nord), 226, 371

Northern Triangle, 395–96

Norton, Michael I., 17

Norway

Fremskrittspartiet (Progress Party), 21, 32

Labour Party, 21

Oslo bombing, 20–22

Utøya massacre, 21–22, 134

Notes on the State of Virginia (Jefferson), 41

Notte, Hanna, 469

Novák, Katalin, 150

Nuevas Ideas (New Ideas), 397, 437, 491, 497

Nuremberg Trials, xxvii, 108

O

Oath Keepers, 408

Obama, Barack, 491, 494, 496

anti-Obama sentiment, 7–8, 33

birther conspiracy theory, 6, 8–9, 276

Dreams from My Father, 317

Northern Triangle aid package, 395–96

presidential election, xxxiv, 6–7, 160, 317

voter support for, 31

Oberender, Peter, 252

O'Connor, Ciarán, 297

October 7 attacks, 469, 480

October Revolution, 450

Oğan, Sinan, 421

O'Grady, Mary Anastasia, 145

Okamura, Tomio, 131, 226, 458

Oklahoma City bombing, 20

Okwunwa, Maveens Okwudiri, 83

Olsen, Per Arne, 21

Olulode, Kunle, 161

One Nation, 229

O'Neal, Maston E., Jr., 100

Open Society Foundation, 484, 485

Open Town Hall (Cabildo Abierto), 249

Operation Barbarossa, 121

Orbán, Viktor, 14, 356
on *Charlie Hebdo* shootings, 127
COVID-19 pandemic response, 294–95
CPAC Hungary, 277
electoral dictatorship, 79
Europa Viva 24 rally message, 265
Euroscepticism, 167
great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii, 12–13, 51, 60, 74
inflation-immigration links, 454
NatCon, 278
Patriots for Europe, 456–57
praise for Putin, 462
praise for Wilders, 222
prime minister tenure, 74, 77–79, 380–81
rise to power, 475
Tucker Carlson Tonight appearance, 60, 74, 77, 88, 94, 96, 101–2, 105
views on culture vs. race, 114–15
Viva 22 rally message, 265
orchestrated distancing

Bernier's, 300

Carlson's, 68–69, 74

defined, 14

Farage's, 373

Kast's, 151

Le Pen's, 14, 15, 475–76

Meloni's, 357, 373

neo-Nazism, 172

Poilievre's, 330–31

Weidel's, 247, 252, 271–72, 283

Wilders's, 199

Order, The, 213

Order of the Star Spangled Banner, 56

Ording, Johan, 198

Ording, Maria Anne, 198

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 80–81, 145, 412, 446

Origins of Totalitarianism, The (Arendt), 392–93

Ortez, Olga Marina, 392

Osborne, George, 368

Oseghale, Innocent, 370, 372

Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party), 189

O'Toole, Erin, 310–11, 316

Ottoman Empire, 95

Otzma Yehudit (Jewish Power), 75, 490

Our Tasks (Ilyin), 467–68

Oxford Internet Institute, 228

Özdağ, Ümit, 421

P

Palestine Liberation Organization, 476

Palestinians, 280, 285, 469–77

Palmares, 41–42

Paraguay, 420

Park, Soon Chung, 406

Park An-su, 417

Parkin, Andrew, 309–10

Partido Colorado (Colorado Party), 420

Partido Cruzada Nacional (National Crusade Party), 420

Partido Liberal (Liberal Party), 381

Partido Nacional de Honduras (National Party of Honduras), 429

Partido Nueva República (New Republic Party), 249

Partido Republicano (Republican Party), 105, 459

Partij Voor de Vrijheid (PVV, Party for Freedom), 196, 200–1, 209, 226, 232, 251, 456

Party for Freedom (Partij Voor de Vrijheid), 196, 200–1, 209, 226, 232, 251, 456

Pasetti, Matteo, 348

Passing of the Great Race, The (Grant), xxx–xxxi, 236

past-good-immigrant, 235, 501

Patel, Priti, 181–82

Patriotic German Youth (Heimattreue Deutsche Jugend), 267

patriots

as freedom fighters, 311–12, 313–14

historical propaganda and defining of, 342–45

insurrectionists as, 424, 426

patriotic education, 318–19

truckers as, 298–99, 303–4, 315–16, 319

White Christians as, 299

Patriots for Europe, 456–58, 475

Patriots Not Welcome (Sellner), 274

Patron, Travis, 300

Patterns of Culture (Benedict), 112

Patterson, Heyward, 65

Patterson, James, 204

Paul, Christopher, 398

Paul, Pamela, 274

Paul, Rand, 326, 354

Păun, Vili Viorel, 270

Pearson, Charles Henry, 233–34

Péladeau, Pierre Karl, 61

Pence, Mike, 162, 407, 413–14

pensions, 29–30

People Power Party, 412

"People's Convoy," 326–27

peoples of color

- defined as terrorists, 129
- denial of racism by, 158–62
- as eternal immigrants, xix, 9
- harms of racism to, 28–29

Hirschfeld's views on, 111–12

imagined to be experts on racism, 161–62

racism against, 162

sensationalized individual cases of violence by, 363–64

People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij Voor Vrijheid en Democratie), 196, 199, 201

People's Party of Canada (PPC), 249, 300–1, 309, 330

Perón, Juan, 108

Perry, David M., 261

Perry, Imani, 501

Perry, Scott, 58

Peru, 33, 141–42, 188

Perussuomalaiset (Finns Party), 32, 150, 162, 250–51, 259, 422

Pétain, Philippe, 3, 14

Peter, Friedrich, 189

Peters, Winston, 225, 230, 280, 327, 422

Petrović-Njegoš, Petar II, 313

Petry, Frauke, 225

Pickens, Andrew, 319

Pierce, Andrew, 155–56, 157, 163–64, 167, 171, 173, 178, 180, 184, 191, 254

Pierce, William Luther (Andrew Macdonald), 187–88

Pike, James Shepherd, 44–45

Pineda, José Mauricio, 150

Piñera, Sebastián, 145

Pinochet, Augusto, 123–25, 142–43, 144–45, 173

Pizarro, Macarena, 106–7

Planet of the Apes (film), 11

Planète des singes, La (Boulle), 11

Pless, Henning, 267

Ploetz, Alfred, 238

Podemos (We Can), 30–31

Pogue, James, 484–85

Poilievre, Pierre

- background, 310
- on Bissonnette, 325
- election campaign, 508
- great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii
- opposition to First Nations blockade, 315

orchestrated distancing of, 330–31
political campaign, 311, 316, 330
support for truckers, 311, 314, 315–16, 325, 329
Poland
German invasion of, 444
"LGBT-free zones," 132
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice), 132, 217, 250, 278
Warsaw Uprising, 217
police brutality, 48–49, 85–86, 176, 224
Political Participation Party (Sanseitō), 304, 381, 499
Pollard, Edward A., 43
Popular Force (Fuerza Popular), 33, 188
popular sovereignty, 352
populism, xxx
populist radical right, 453
pornography, xxiv
Portugal
Chega! (Enough!), 162, 250, 306–7, 381, 456, 459
COVID-19 pandemic response, 306–7
Reconquête! (Reconquest!), 458

Posobic, Jack, 278, 433

Potok, Mark, 7

Potsdam Day, 257

poverty, 99

Powell, Enoch, 173–76, 192

PPC. *See* People's Party of Canada

Prava Crna Gora (True Montenegro), 313–14

Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice), 132, 217, 250, 278

prejudice, 118–19

present-bad-immigrant, 235, 501

Pressley, Ayanna, 354

Presteid, Augusta (Mathilda Martina Huss), 263–64

Pretzell, Marcus, 251

privilege, xxvii, xxxiv–xxxvi, 448–49

Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet), 21, 32

Project 2025 (Heritage Foundation), 66, 100, 319, 344

Prolétaire du Havre, Le (periodical), 4

propaganda, 500–2

Prosser, Gabriel, 42

Prostrate State, The (Pike), 44

Protocols of the Elders of Zion, The, 434, 479

Proud Boys, 185, 405, 408

Provoste, Yasna, 107

proximity denial, 156–57, 158–62, 164, 185, 379

Purra, Riikka, 150

Putin, Spiridon, 450

Putin, Vladimir

- arrest warrant issued, 489
- birth, 450
- condemnation of Israel, 469–70
- dictatorship, 441
- family background, 450–51
- great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii
- Internet Research Agency (IRA), 399
- on Nice truck attack, 134
- political background, 451
- Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly, 441–42, 452, 468, 477, 478, 488, 490
- presidential elections, 481–82, 490–2

Putin, Vladimir Spiridonovich, 450

PVV. *See* Partij Voor de Vrijheid

Q

Quebec City mosque shooting, 323–25

queerness, xxiv, 132, 274, 446

Quinlan, Patrick, 460

R

race

- as a biological phenomenon, 81
- construction of, 81
- data collection on, 80–84
- false ideas about, 82
- as a power construct, 81
- racialization of ethnic groups, 82

Race (Benedict), 112

race purity, 5

Race Relations Act, 174

race war, 112, 114, 127, 129

racial equality, xxvi

racial hierarchies, 114–17

racial hygiene, 238–39

racial inequity, 72–73, 99–101, 503

Racial Preservation Society, 170

racial wealth gap, 71

racism

anti-Black, 29, 156, 159

anti-White, 25, 202–5, 220–21, 233, 501–2

Benedict's definition of, 112–13

book burnings and, 110

Camus's definition, 356

defining, 117–19, 503

denial of by people of color, 158–62

denials of, 114–16

in France, 83, 116

great replacement theory as, xxvii

Hirschfeld's definition of, 109–10, 111–12

in Hungary, 83

misdefining, 118–19, 121, 124–25, 156

neo-Nazi definitions of, 119

neo-Nazi reconstruction of, 114–16
against peoples of color, 162
reconstruction of, 81
redefining, 102
as suicidal, 137–39
systemic, 162, 281
virus of, 28–29
White defense of, xxxv
White genocide theory and, xxiv
Racism (Hirschfeld), 110, 111–12
racist policies, 118–19
racists
defining, 117–19
denials of being, 114–16
misdefining, 118–19, 124–25
uses of term, 179, 369
Rademacher, Franz, 284
Rajagopal, Balakrishnan, 455
Ramaswamy, Vivek, 179, 278, 354
Rasnačs, Dzintars, 37

Raspail, Jean, 11–13, 36

Rassemblement National (National Rally), xxvii, 50, 131, 204, 251, 286, 382, 456, 460, 496

Rassemblement National Populaire (National Popular Rally), 50

Rathjen, Tobias, 269–72, 273

Reagan, Ronald, 12, 207, 491

Rebel Media, 61

Reconquête! (Reconquest!), 259–60, 286, 458

Reconquista, 95, 314

Reconstruction, 43, 44–45

Reform UK, 190–91, 499–500

Reichelt, Julian, 63

Reichstag fire, 248

Reinthaller, Anton, 189

religious freedom, 38–39

religious symbols, banning of, 37–38

Religious Zionism party, 280, 473, 490

remigration, 244–45, 256–57, 274, 279, 283–88, 289–90, 352–53

Remigration (Sellner), 274

replacees, xxii

replacers, xxii, 237–38, 501–2

replacists, xxii, 288

Republic TV, 62–63

Les Républicains (The Republicans), 287

Republican National Convention, xxvii, 362, 363, 400

Republican Party (U.S.), 426

great replacement theory beliefs, xxix, 58, 184

House Freedom Caucus, 178

Lincoln branding, 351

Tea Party, 33, 316, 317

as the White man's party, 351

Republican Party (Partido Republicano), 105, 459

Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi), 421

Republicans, The (Les Républicains), 287

resegregation, 221

Retailleau, Bruno, 286–87

Revival (Vazrazhdane), 75, 306, 381, 458, 459

Revolt Against Civilization, The (Stoddard), 237

Rexist Party, 250

Rhodes, Cecil, 97

Rhodesia, 206–7

Richardson, Heather Cox, 319

Rikkers, Isabel, 428

Riley, Laken, 363

Ríos, Guido Manini, 249

Ríos, Zury, 141

Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy, The (Stoddard), 237

Rittenhouse, Kyle, 224

Ritzmann, Alexander, 244

"Rivers of Blood" speech (Powell), 173–74

Roberts, Kevin D., 344

Robinson, Mark, 160–61

Robinson, Tyler, 224

Rochelle, Pierre Drieu la, 484

Rodick, William, 211

Roe v. Wade, xxv

Roma people, xxvi–xxvii, 75, 80, 81, 131, 237

Romania

Alianța Pentru Unirea Românilor (Alliance for the Union of Romanians), 250, 306, 456

COVID-19 pandemic response, 306

Revival (Vazrazhdane), 75, 306, 381, 458, 459

Romanov, Margarita, 445

Romanov, Vladimir, 445

Roof, Dylann, 127–29, 187, 206, 213, 215, 223, 324

Roosevelt, Theodore, 98, 233–34

Rosenbaum, Joseph, 224

Ross, Edward Alsworth, 235–36

Rothman, Simcha, 473

Rubio, Marco, 255

Rudakubana, Axel, 373

Rufo, Christopher, 211–12, 278, 500

Runnymede Trust, 161

Russell, Richard, Jr., 99

Russia

annexation of Crimea, 443–44, 445, 446, 447–48

civil and human rights, 445–46

coat of arms, 442

COVID-19 pandemic response, 482

Crocus City Hall attack, 480

Don't Be Gay bill (2022), 447

firehose of falsehood, 398–99

foreign funding by, 13–14, 462

FSB (Federal Security Service), 451

invasion of Ukraine, xxxiv, 452–53, 462–63, 464, 468, 483

Liberalnaya Rossiya (Liberal Russia), 482

life expectancies, 446

net incomes, 446

NKVD, 451

October Revolution, 450

Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly, 441–42, 452, 468, 477, 478, 488, 490

Russian Spring, 442

sanctions, 452–53

siege of Leningrad, 450–51, 471

Yedinaya Rossiya (United Russia), 445, 481

Russian Revolution, 464

S

Saied, Kais, xxviii, 362

Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, 165

Salazar, António, 484

Salter, Aaron, Jr., 65

Salvini, Matteo, 250, 370–71, 374, 377

Sánchez, Pedro, 414

Sanchez, Teresa, 65

Sanders, Bernie, 31

Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting, 169

Sanko, Adam, 78

Sanko, Jozsefne, 77–78

Sanseitō (Political Participation Party), 304, 381, 499

Santa María, Constanza, 148–50

Santana-Pereira, José, 306

Santorum, Rick, 280

Sarkozy, Nicolas, 15

Sarsour, Linda, 324

Sauer, P. O., 45

Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar, 76

Savoie, Justin, 309–10

scarcity of resources, 18–19

Schaffhauser, Jean-Luc, 14

Scheppele, Kim Lane, 79

Schlapp, Matt, 277

Schmidt, Gernot, 285–86

Schoep, Jeff, 30

Scholl, Sophie, 366

Scholz, Olaf, 247

Schröder, Silke, 268

Schularick, Moritz, 30

Schutzstaffel (SS), 321

Schweizerische Volkspartei (Swiss People's Party), 132, 422

Scientific Humanitarian Committee, 109

scientism, 369–71

Scott, Tim, 160, 255

Scurati, Antonio, 342

Second Militia Act (1792), 488–89

Seed Movement (Movimiento Semilla), 423

segregationist ideas, 111

segregationists, 98–99, 221

self-coup, 362

Sellner, Brittany, 273–74

Sellner, Martin, 273–75, 283–84, 285–86, 289, 321–22, 493

September 11 terror attacks, xxii–xxiii, 199

Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de, 97

Serbia, 91

Sergeytsev, Timofey, 467

Servan, Joseph Michel Antoine, xxxiii

Sessions, Jeff, 18

1776 Commission, 318

Severino, Roger, 66

Sewell, Tony, 161–62

sexism, xxiv, xxvi, 110, 204

Shah, Samir, 161

Shapiro, Ben, 324

Shelby County v. Holder, 218

Shirer, William L., 494

shootings

Arizona Buddhist temple, 127

Atlanta spas, 406

Buffalo Tops supermarket, 64–69

Charleston church, 127–28

Charlie Hebdo offices, 126–27

Christchurch massacre, 228–31, 313

El Paso Walmart, 59

Halle synagogue, 271

Hanau, 270–71

Macerata, 372, 373

Munich, 134–35

Nova Scotia, 301–2

Quebec City, 323–25

Sandy Hook Elementary School, 169

Tree of Life synagogue, 213–14

Utøya massacre, 21–22

Sichel, Sebastián, 107

Siegmund, Ulrich, 267

Simion, George, 306

Sims, David, 207

Single European Act (1986), 170

Sipma, Take, 453

The 1619 Project, 318

60 Minutes (news program), 3, 5, 6, 9–10, 11, 16, 26, 27, 34–35, 37–38, 48–51

Sked, Alan, 172, 173, 176

Slave Code (1705), 488

slavery, xxxv, 28–29, 40–43, 44, 97, 160–61, 174, 197, 287, 288, 318, 351–54, 367–68, 424–25, 484

Slovak National Party (Slovenská Národná Strana), 32, 188–189

Slovakia

    Slovak National Party (Slovenská Národná Strana), 32, 188–89

    Slovenská Národná Strana (Slovak National Party), 32, 188–89

Slovenian Democratic Party (Slovenska Demokratska Stranka), 74, 249, 259, 356

Slovenska Demokratska Stranka (Slovenian Democratic Party), 74, 249, 259, 356

Slovenská Národná Strana (Slovak National Party), 32, 188–89

Smith, Ian, 206

Smith, Javier Ortega, 295

Smotrich, Bezalel, 280

Snyder, Timothy, 411

Social Contract Press, 12

Social Credit, 434

Social Democratic Party (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands), 243, 498

Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (Socijaldemokratski Sojuz na Makedonij), 416

social media, 293, 324, 364, 393, 397, 398–99, 409, 428–29, 483, 506

socialism, xxx, 233, 337

Socialist Party (France), xvii

Society for Racial Hygiene, 238

Socijaldemokratski Sojuz na Makedonij (Social Democratic Union of Macedonia), 416

Somalia, 89

Sommers, Samuel R., 17

Sonboly, Ali, 134

Soros, George, xxii

Sotomayor, Sonya, 18

Soula, Safina, 286

South Africa

apartheid, 45, 206–7, 281–82, 435, 489

military conscription, 489

National Party, 45

White Afrikaners, 281–82, 434

White "refugees," 102

South Korea, 418–19

Southern, Lauren, 61

Southern Cone, 108–9, 122

Southern Manifesto, 98–99

Southern Poverty Law Center, 7, 12, 215

Southport stabbings, 373

sovereign debt crisis, 30

Soviet Union, 121, 446, 464–66

Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD, Social Democratic Party), 243, 496

Spain

Civil War, 265

Podemos (We Can), 30–31

Reconquista, 95, 314

Vox (Voice), 75, 159, 223, 265, 277, 295, 314, 456, 486

Sparta, 321–22

Spencer, Richard, 179, 276, 324

Spencer, Robert, 32

Spiegel International (periodical), 253

Spiritual Helm of the Merchant's Vessel, The (Udemans), 97

Stalin, Joseph, 450

Stampa, La (periodical), 347, 348

Staník, Jaroslav, 131

Stanley, Jason, 350

Starmer, Keir, 461

Stealth Jihad (Spencer), 32

Stephens, Alexander, 72

Stoddard Lothrop, 236–38

Stoltenberg, Jens, 20

Stop Wrongs to Our Kids and Employees (WOKE) Act (2022), xxvi, 214

Stormfront (website), 208

Stronach, Frank, 313

Students for Fair Admissions, 218

Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard, 45–46

Submission (Houellebecq), 382

subprime mortgages, 28

Suhay, Elizabeth, xxix

Sum of Us, The (McGhee), 18

Sumner, Charles, 352

Sun News Network (SNN), 61

Sunak, Ramdas, 182

Sunak, Rishi, 164, 181, 182–83, 192, 461

surveillance, of pregnant women, 66–67

Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats), 12, 32, 75, 91–92, 250, 381

Svoboda a Přímá Demokracie (Freedom and Direct Democracy), 131, 226, 251, 458

swastikas, 320–21

Sweden, 12, 32, 75, 91–92, 250, 381

Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna), 12, 32, 75, 91–92, 250, 381

Swiss People's Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei), 132, 422

Switzerland

    National Front, 32

    Schweizerische Volkspartei (Swiss People's Party), 132, 422

Syria, 89, 136, 421

Szepesi, Eva, 246–47

T

Talmadge, Herman, 221

Tan, Xiaojie, 406

Tarrant, Brenton, 228–30, 231, 271, 273, 313, 372, 432

Tatars, 446

Taubira, Christiane, 115

Taylor, John, 41

Tea Party, 33, 316, 317

terrorism

- Ansbach bombing, 135
- Arizona Buddhist temple shootings, 127
- Brussels bombings, 133
- Buffalo Tops supermarket shootings, 64–69
- Charleston church shootings, 127–28
- *Charlie Hebdo* shootings, 126–27
- Christchurch massacre, 228–31, 313
- Crocus City Hall attack, 480

deaths due to, 135–36

El Paso Walmart shootings, 59

electoral effects of, 133

great replacement terror, 134–36

Hanau shootings, 270–71

against immigrant populations, 134–35

London Bridge attack, 137–38

Manchester Arena bombing, 137

misdefining, 124–25

Munich shooting, 134–35

Nice truck attack, 133–34

October 7 attacks, 469, 480

Oklahoma City bombing, 20

Oslo bombing, 20–22, 134

Paris attacks, 130–131

political exploitation of, xxxiv, 126–29

Quebec City mosque shooting, 323–25

in response to Obama's election, 7

September 11 attacks, xxii–xxiii, 199

Utøya massacre, 21–22, 134

Years of Lead, 341

Thadden, Adolf von, 253

Thatcher, Margaret, 171, 173, 192, 252

Théorie du racisme (*Theory of Racism*) (Binet), 4

Thiel, Peter, 278

Thomas, Clarence, 46, 101, 161

Three Percenters, 408

Tice, Richard, 190–91, 461

TikTok, 293, 398, 429

Tillschneider, Hans-Thomas, 260

Topić, Jan, 422

Torgalski, Aaron, 86

Traini, Luca, 371, 372

transphobia, xxvi, 274

Treaty of Rome, 169

Trebesch, Christoph, 30

Tree of Life synagogue, 213

Tricks (Camus), xvii

Trotha, Lothar von, 367

trucker convoys, 298–99, 303–4, 311–16, 320–21, 326–30

Trudeau, Justin, 301, 303, 316, 325, 329, 331

True Montenegro (Prava Crna Gora), 313–14

Truman, Harry, 353

Trumbull, Lyman, 351–53

Trump, Donald J., xxv, xxvii, 324

America First agenda, 60

"American Carnage" speech, 232–33

on antifa, 361, 362

antiracist demonstrations crackdown, 49

birth, xvii

birther conspiracy theory, 6, 8–9, 276

on Brexit, 188

on Charleston shooting, 129

condemnation of Christchurch massacre, 231

COVID-19 pandemic response, 294, 295, 307

CPAC speeches, 276, 277

criminal charges, 505

denial of being racist, 115

as dictator, 486

on El Salvador, 400

executive orders, 210–11, 219–20

family immigration history, xix

great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii

on Gugino incident, 86

Herridge interview, 85

on immigrants, xxxi

impeachment, 503

inflation-immigration links, 453–54

influence on European great replacement parties, 226

January 6 insurrection, 404–5, 407–8, 413–15, 504–5

Muslim travel ban, 324

NATO skepticism, 167–68, 340

patriotic ideology, 319

in Poland, 216–17

praise for, 225, 251

praise for Putin, 462

presidential campaigns, xxiii–xxiv, 91, 195, 202, 243, 285, 363, 404–5, 424, 453–54

presidential wins, xxxiv, 6, 225–26, 251

remigration proposals, 285

rhetoric about supporters, 504

"Save America" rally, 326

sensationalization of crime, 363–64, 379

social media use, 430, 431

on Unite the Right marchers, xxxi

View, The, appearance, 6, 8–9

Viva 22 rally message, 265

voter support for, 31, 203

"White House Conference on American History," 317–18

White racism claims, 84

Trump, Donald, Jr., 326, 408, 491

Trump, Elisabeth, xix

Trump, Eric, 408

Trump, Fred, xix, 51

Trump, Friedrich, xix

Trump, Mary Anne, xix

Truth Social, 430

Tucker Carlson Tonight (TV show), 57, 60, 63, 74, 80, 88, 94, 96, 101–2, 224

Tunisia, 88, 362

Turkey

Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party), 421

GEBLIZ, 66–67

Kurdish population, 67

Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party), 421

Syrian refugees in, 421

Zafer Partisi (Victory Party), 421

Turner Diaries, The (Macdonald/Pierce), 187–88

Turning Point USA, 223, 424

Twitter. *See* X

Tyndall, John, 169

U

Überfremdung (foreign infiltration), 253

Udemans, Godefridus Cornelisz, 97

UK Independence Party (UKIP), 173, 176–77, 184–85, 189

Ukraine

history of, 464–66

Nazi colonization of, 465

Russian invasion of, xxxiv, 452–53, 462–63, 464, 468, 483

Umvolkung concept, xxxi

un-demonization, 15

Underwood, Oscar W., 174–75

unemployment, 29, 71

Unión Demócrata Independiente (Independent Democratic Union), 144, 459

Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), 168

Unitary Socialist Party, 338

Unite the Right rally, xx–xxi, xxv, xxxi, 61, 462

United Australia Party, 314

United Kingdom

- Anti-Federalist League, 172, 173
- Brexit, xxxiv, 185–86, 188–89, 499
- Brexit Party, 190–91
- British National Party, 169, 176
- Brixton uprising, 176
- Conservative Party, 24, 155, 164, 176–77, 184, 191, 284–85, 499
- Cox assassination, 187–88
- EEC membership, 169–70

GB News, 155–56
Labour Party, 461, 499
London Bridge attack, 137–38
Manchester Arena bombing, 137
National Front, 170, 176
National Socialist Movement, 169
police brutality, 176
Protestant Huguenot refugees, 164–65, 178
Reform UK, 190–91
Southport stabbings, 373
"stop the boats" slogan, 229
UK Independence Party (UKIP), 173, 176–77, 184–85, 189
Whig Party, 368
United Russia (Yedinaya Rossiya), 445, 482
United States
alliance with El Salvador, 388, 430
antiracist demonstrations, 49, 85–86, 205, 361–62
Atlanta spa shootings, 406
Catholic immigrants, 50–51, 56
colonial expansion, 98

COVID-19 pandemic response, 294, 307

Democratic Party, xxix, 351–54

Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE), 487

enslaving era, xxxv, 28, 40–43, 44, 174, 318, 351–54

Haitian pet-eating rumors, 378–79

immigration policies, 235–38, 395

January 6 insurrection, 404–5, 407–8, 413–15, 425–26, 504–5

Know Nothing Party, 55–56

mass shootings, 59, 64–69, 127–28, 169, 213–14

National Socialist Movement, 30

New Right, 275, 276–78

as not racist, 223–24

police brutality, 85–86, 224, 361

presidential term limits, 491

remigration proposals, 285, 287, 352–53

Republican Party, xxix, 178, 184, 351–54, 426

September 11 terror attacks, xxii–xxiii, 199

Tea Party, 33, 316, 317

trucker convoys, 326–27

violent crime statistics, 363–64

voting rights, 58–59

"United We Roll" convoy, 298

University of Virginia, xx–xxi

Unwoke (Cruz), 24

Uribe, Álvaro, 75

Uruguay, 249, 288

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 487

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 66

U.S. Supreme Court, xxv, 45–46, 98–99, 100–1, 161, 218–19

Uyghurs, 38, 67, 274

V

vaccine mandates, xxvi, 293, 295, 297–99, 301, 307, 309

Valenzuela, Iván, 106, 123, 142, 144

Van Grieken, Tom, 133, 223, 250, 260

Vance, JD, xxv, 278, 379, 433, 496

Varga, Judit, 150

Vasilopoulou, Sofia, 500

Vaturi, Nissim, 471

Vazrazhdane (Revival), 75, 306, 381, 458, 459

Velazquez, Juan, 65

Velopoulos, Kyriakos, 188

Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti (Left, Denmark's Liberal Party), 131

Ventura, André, 162, 265, 306

Vial, Carlos Cristián Cox, 144

Victor Emmanuel II, 335

Victor Emmanuel III, 337–38

Victory (Niki) party, 306

Victory Party (Zafer Partisi), 421

Videla, Jorge Rafael, 141

View, The (talk show), 6, 160

Villarruel, Victoria, 141

Vinland, 261–62

violence

during COVID-19 pandemic, xxxiv, 301–2, 303–4, 336, 406

El Salvadoran homicide rates, 394, 400–1

gang, 394–95, 437

Italian homicide rates, 374–75

retaliatory political, 373

sensationalization of crime, 363–64

See also bombings; shootings; terrorism

Virtue of Nationalism, The (Hazony), 278

Vistisen, Anders, 475

Viva 22 rally, 265–66

Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest), 133, 223, 251, 456, 459

VMRO-DPMNE, 32, 416–17, 459

Voice (Vox), 75, 159, 223, 265, 277, 295, 314, 456, 486

Volkspartij Voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD, People's Party for Freedom and Democracy), 196, 199, 201

Vosgerau, Ulrich, 267–68

Vossen, Alain, 422

voter tourism, 77–78

voting rights, 100

Voting Rights Act (1965), 100, 218–19

Vox (Voice), 75, 159, 223, 265, 277, 295, 314, 456, 486

VVD. *See* Volkspartij Voor Vrijheid en Democratie

W

Waffen-SS, 4, 33

Walker, Francis Amasa, 235

Walker, Herschel, 179, 185

Walters, Barbara, 6

Wannsee Conference, 256–57

Warsaw Uprising, 217

Washington, George, 174, 319

Washington Post, The (periodical), 14, 75, 120, 203, 348

We Believe (Creemos), 305

We Can (Podemos), 30–31

wealth inequality, 71, 72

Webster, Thomas, 425

Weibel, Mauricio, 120–21

Weidel, Alice

- on antifa, 361
- as co-leader of AfD, 138, 253–55, 289–90
- COVID-19 pandemic response, 308
- economics background, 252–53

Euroscepticism, 252

great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii

on Halle synagogue shooting, 271–72

inflation-immigration links, 454

Klingbeil debate, 243–44

opposition to same-sex marriage, 254

orchestrated distancing of, 247, 252, 271–72, 283

parliamentary speech, 248, 263, 268, 269, 282, 283, 290, 298

praise for Wilders, 223

sensationalization of crime, 363

Werner, Marine-Solange, 366

Werth, Henrik, 81

West, Kanye, 273–74

Whig Party, 368

Whitaker, Bob, 206–8

White genocide theory, xxiv–xxv, 23, 147, 202, 223

"White House Conference on American History," 317–18

White nationalism, 4

White people

anti-White racism, 25, 202–5, 220–21, 233, 501–2
birth rates, xxiv–xxv, 66
Christianity as a stand-in for cultures of, 259
defined as lone wolves vs. terrorists, 129
educational advantages, 70, 100–1
employment advantages, 71
enslavers, xxxv, 40–43, 97, 489
as eternal natives, xix
harms of racism to, 28–29
hate crimes against, 70
as indigenous, 245, 279, 280–82
life expectancy, 71
loss of majority status, xxiii
racial progress views, 17
recruited for immigration to South America, 287–88
White power movement, 213
White rage, xxviii
White Rose, 366
White supremacy, 223, 233, 425
White women

abuse of, xxv

"childless cat ladies," xxiv–xxv

feminism, 207–8

WhiteDate.net, xxv

Whitelaw, William, 192

Whitfield, Ruth, 65

Wilberforce, William, 368

Wilderink, Wilhelm, 263–64

Wilders, Geert, 37

on antifa, 361–62

birth, 198

on Brexit, 188

on *Charlie Hebdo* shootings, 126–27

condemnation of Christchurch massacre, 230–31

COVID-19 pandemic response, 307

denial of being racist, 115

election campaign, 195–96, 201, 202, 495, 508

election victory, 222–23, 225–27, 232, 239, 244

on England terror attacks, 138

Euroscepticism, 167

family background, 197–98
great replacement theory beliefs, xxviii, 198–200, 432
inflation-immigration links, 455
Islamophobia, 196, 199–200
orchestrated distancing of, 199
Patriots for Europe, 456
praise for, 222–23
praise for Trump, 225
remigration proposals, 286
support for Israel, 475
views on Israel, 200
Wilders, Johannes, 198
Wilders, Paul, 198–99
Wilson, Jason, 275
Woke Racism (McWhorter), 25
wokeism, 150, 179, 214
Women's March, 324
Woodard, Lauren, 448
World Health Organization, 294
World War I, 57–58, 254, 258

World War II, 3–4, 36, 81, 90, 167, 198, 217, 495

Wortman, Gabriel, 301–2

X

X (Twitter), xxiii, 129, 198, 324, 399, 410, 430, 431–33, 474

Xhaferi, Talat, 417

Xi Jinping, xxviii, 67

Xiao, Lu, 393

Y

Yanukovych, Viktor, 443

Yaun, Delaina Ashley, 406

Yedinaya Rossiya (United Russia), 445, 482

Yeltsin, Boris, 451

Yoon Suk Yeol, xxviii, 411–12

You Will Not Replace Us! (Camus), xxi–xxii, xxxvii, 7, 72, 92, 208, 245, 367

Young, Pearl, 65

youth indoctrination, 484–85

YouTube, 228, 273, 274, 304, 322, 428

Yue, Yong Ae, 406

Yushenkov, Sergei, 481

Yusuf, Zia, 461

Z

Zafer Partisi (Victory Party), 421

Zemmour, Éric, 259–60, 278, 286, 463

zero-sum stories, 18–19, 25, 39, 40, 42–43, 102

Zhang, Sophie, 429

Zhirinovsky, Vladimir V., 188

Ziegler, Garrett, 426

Zimbabwe, 206–7

Zimmermann, Moshe, 477

Zionism, 475, 478–79

Zúquete, José Pedro, 14–15

Zur, Roi, 498

Zurara, Gomes Eanes de, 97

Zwarte Piet (Black Pete), 208–9

About the Author

DR. IBRAM X. KENDI is one of the world's foremost historians of racism and leading antiracist scholars. His books have been translated into multiple languages and published throughout the Americas, Africa, Europe, and Asia. Dr. Kendi is the Carter G. Woodson Endowed Chair in History at Howard University in Washington, D.C., and the inaugural director of the Howard University Institute for Advanced Study, an interdisciplinary research enterprise examining global racism. He is the author of many highly acclaimed bestsellers, including *How to Be an Antiracist* and *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America,* which won the National Book Award for Nonfiction. *Time* magazine named Dr. Kendi one of the 100 most influential people in the world. He was named a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum. He was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship and a MacArthur Fellowship, popularly known as the Genius Grant.

ibramxkendi.com
Instagram: @ibramxk
Threads: @ibramxk
TikTok: @ibramxk
Facebook.com/ibramxkendi

To inquire about booking Ibram X. Kendi for a speaking engagement, please contact the Penguin Random House Speakers Bureau at speakers@penguinrandomhouse.com.

What's next on your reading list?

Discover your next great read!

Get personalized book picks and up-to-date news about this author.

Sign up now.